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CARMEL IN ENGLAND.

FR. BERNARDINUS A STA. THERESIA,

Præpositus Generalis Fratrum Excalceatorum Ordinis B. V. Mariæ de Monte Carmelo, ejusdemque S. Montis Prior.

Cum opus, cui titulus: "History of the Carmelite Mission in England," anglico idiomate a R.P. Benedicto-Maria a Sta. Cruce, Ordinis nostri sacerdote professo ex Semi-Provincia Angliæ, conscriptum, duo e nostris theologis examinaverint nihilque in eo offenderint quod Catholicæ fidei vel bonis moribus adversetur: Nos, tenore præsentium licentiam concedimus ut enuntiatum opus typis edatur, servatis tamen de jure servandis.

In quorum fidem, &c.

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NOTE.—In accordance with the Decrees of Pope Urban VIII., the AUTHOR declares that while referring to supernatural events, or to the heroic virtues of various persons mentioned in the following Memoirs, he does not intend to forestall the ultimate judgment of the Ecclesiastical Authorities.

CARMEL IN ENGLAND:

A HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH MISSION OF THE DISCALCED CARMELITES.

1615 TO 1849.

DRAWN FROM DOCUMENTS PRESERVED IN THE ARCHIVES OF THE ORDER.

BY

FATHER B. ZIMMERMAN

(Fr. Benedictus-Maria a Sta. Cruce)

O.C.D.

LONDON: BURNS & OATES, Limited.

NEW YORK, CINCINNATI, CHICAGO: BENZIGER BROTHERS.

1899.

TO HIS EMINENCE

CARDINAL GOTTI

LATE GENERAL OF THE DISCALCED CARMELITES

THIS VOLUME IS HUMBLY INSCRIBED

BY

THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

More than ten years ago, a collection of documents and memoirs, chiefly Latin and Italian, referring to the missions of the Order of Discalced Carmelites, was placed into my hands. The subject appeared to me to be of sufficiently general interest, and, at the same time, one so little known, that, with the blessing of the Eminent Prince of the Church, whose name adorns the Dedication page of this book, I began to write a brief History of the English Mission, which I now present to the public. Owing to the dispersion, and partial loss, of our Archives, it necessarily assumes a more or less fragmentary form, yet I have spared neither time or labour in endeavouring to make it as complete as possible. Every available source of information has been thoroughly examined, and no name or date has been allowed to pass without investigation as to its accuracy. One great difficulty with which I have had to contend was the almost systematical suppression of the names of persons with whom the Carmelite missioners had to deal. These I have endeavoured to restore by dint of patient labour and research, and I hope that the numerous footnotes, instead of rendering the reading heavy, will

increase the value and interest of the narrative. I have carefully put on one side anything not directly bearing on my subject. Thus, there is not more than a passing allusion to the history of the early English Carmelites, although it has never been treated exhaustively as yet. Again, I have passed in silence numerous original documents concerning the Irish Carmelite missions in the seventeenth century. In a work of this kind, not only must certain limits be observed, but the treatment is suggested by the materials themselves. It would have been impossible to do justice to the writers of letters and memoirs, otherwise than by allowing them to tell their own tale in their own words, even at the expense of some repetitions, or a slight disturbance of the chronological order of events.

I have the pleasant duty of gratefully acknowledging the assistance I have received in my researches from many quarters. The Very Rev. Father Bernardine, General, and the Very Rev. Father Benedict of Jesus, Definitor-General, in Rome, have kindly supplied me with a series of valuable documents from the Roman archives. Several extracts from the Diary of the English College in Rome are due to the Right Rev. Mgr. Giles, President of the College. His Excellency, the Portuguese Minister in London, and the Right Rev. Mgr. Provost Barry, have allowed me to consult the registers of the former Portuguese and Spanish chapels in London. The Very Rev. Canon Daris, of Liège, furnished extracts from the ordination registers of that diocese: while the Very Rev.

Dom Gilbert Dolan, O.S.B., and Rev. R. Stanfield, London, contributed important notes. I am indebted to Dame Laurentia Ward, O.S.B., of St. Mary's Abbey, Oulton, Staffordshire, and to the Carmelite Sisters at Darlington, Durham, for particulars concerning Lady Catherine Sedley, and Hon. Gertrude Aston; to Rev. E. C. F. Ratcliffe, Rector of Downham, Essex, for information with regard to the estate called "Tremnals," situated in his parish; to Rev. J. J. Raven, D.D., of Fressingfield, Suffolk, for researches in the Sancroft papers. Thanks are also due to Rev. Father Thomas Michael, O.C.D. at Courtrai, Rev. Father Fulgentius, O.C.D. at Milan, to the Priors of the Carmelite monasteries at Vicenza and Gayfield (Dublin) and to the Carmelite Sisters at Wells, to Mr. Edward Bellasis, Lancaster Herald, and especially to Mr. Gillow, author of the "Bibliographical Dictionary of English Catholics," for numerous genealogical and bibliographical contributions.

FR. BENEDICTUS MARIA A STA. CRUCE,
O.C.D.

KENSINGTON, 25*th May* 1899.

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CARMEL IN ENGLAND

INTRODUCTION

The Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel—The English monasteries in pre-Reformation times—Theresian Reform—The origin and spread of missions—The daily life of a Carmelite—An early manuscript on the English Mission.

THE origin of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel is shrouded in mystery. According to the old tradition it was founded by the great prophet of Carmel, St. Elias (Elijah), and propagated by his disciple and successor, St. Eliseus (Elisha), and the "Schools or Sons of the Prophets," of whom mention is made in the Books of Kings. That the latter were a kind of religious institution where, in addition to the other religious virtues, holy Obedience was practised, seemed to be so clear to the early Fathers of the Church, St. John Chrysostom and St. Gregory Nazianzen among others, that they did not hesitate to proclaim St. Elias the founder of Religious life, and proposed him to their own disciples as a model to be carefully imitated. The principal objection raised against this theory is that so little is known of the subsequent history of these "Sons of the Pro-

phets," there being no further mention of them in Holy Scripture. However, Philo, Flavius Josephus and Pliny, have introduced us to the sect of the Essenians, who also led a kind of religious life, and who have been identified by many writers as the lawful successors of the "Sons of the Prophets." It is not our intention to discuss in these pages the probability of this, or any other, supposition put forward with regard to the origin of the Order of Mount Carmel. The question has been treated at length by the Bollandists, and the conclusion drawn by them has given rise to ardent, not to say angry, controversies. In the absence of documentary evidence, it must suffice for us to state the existence of a tradition, without taking upon ourselves the responsibility of proof either for or against its validity. In the early centuries of Church history we find Mount Carmel one of the great places of pilgrimage, numerous "Graffiti" attesting the presence, and, at the same time, the devotion of pious pilgrims. From the two fathers mentioned above we learn that, in the fourth century, Mount Carmel was inhabited by hermits, whom the upholders of the tradition would consider as members of the Order. After that period nothing more is heard until the time of the Crusades, when some Frankish hermits settled for good on the sacred mountain, and applied to the then Patriarch of Jerusalem for a Rule of life, which to the present day is being observed by the monks and nuns of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. The inroads of the Saracens becoming ever more frequent, and the power of the Christians dwindling away in the

same proportion, the Carmelites were compelled to look for a shelter in Europe. They had on their side the undoubted favour of Christian grandees, who were only too glad to open new homes for them in exchange for the many monasteries burned or destroyed by the Saracens. Thus Louis IX. of France introduced the Carmelites to Paris and other towns of his kingdom. Yet even at an earlier period some English knights—John Vescy and Richard Grey—had brought over to England a number of Carmelites, for whom they built monasteries in Northumberland and Kent, whence the English Province of the Order spread with astonishing rapidity, in spite of much opposition at the hands of other Orders, as well as of the secular clergy. In the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries not less than thirty-nine monasteries were founded in England, twenty-five in Ireland and eleven in Scotland, as well as a convent of nuns at Edinburgh. These monasteries suffered terribly from the outbreak of the plague in the middle of the fourteenth century, known as the "Black Death"; so much so that Pope Eugenius IV. found himself obliged to mitigate the exceedingly strict Rule in one or two points to prevent the Order from becoming extinct. However, such was the fervour of the Carmelites that, almost immediately after this concession, there arose a Reformer (Blessed John Soreth), who successfully re-established the original Rule in a large number of monasteries and convents.

As to the life and works of the ancient English Carmelites, we may form some idea by examining the long list of authors preserved by Bale, himself

an ex-Carmelite, afterwards Protestant Bishop of Ossory. In the university towns the fathers took a prominent part in the scientific movement, their colleges being frequented not alone by the younger members of the Order, but by numerous students of every rank and station in life. In other large towns, such as London, Norwich, York, their principal occupation consisted in the administration of the sacraments, their reputation as pious and learned confessors being frequently spoken of by contemporary writers. Unfortunately, the ever-increasing spirit of revolt against all authority, especially ecclesiastical, tended to render the reception of members more and more difficult, so that since the beginning of the sixteenth century the Carmelites, like various other Orders, found themselves in a critical state. Henry VIII. dealt them the deathblow by confiscating all their monasteries, and turning the Religious into the street without pension or compensation of any kind. What became of the Religious—two hundred and eighty or three hundred in number, mostly aged—is unknown. Two suffered death for their firm adherence to the Roman See, some fell away from the Church, but the vast majority seem to have retired into private life, until death released them from an almost intolerable existence.

While these things were happening in England, and similar events were taking place in many Continental countries, God prepared the instrument which was to bring back the ancient glory of Carmel and add new glory to an already illustrious Order. St. Theresa, born at Avila in Spain, in 1515, and pro-

fessed at the convent of the Incarnation of the same town in 1537, conceived the idea of founding a convent where the original Rule of the Order should be observed with the utmost exactitude. After innumerable difficulties the foundation at last took place, on August 24, 1562, the convent being that of St. Joseph's, Avila. St Theresa herself has told us, in the book called "The Way of Perfection," what considerations led her to undertake a work of such importance.

"About this time," she says,[1] "there came to my knowledge the miseries of France and the havoc which the heretics made there, and how much they went on increasing. This troubled me exceedingly, and as though I could have done, or had been, something, I cried to Our Lord, and besought Him to remedy so great an evil. Methought I would have laid down a thousand lives to recover but one soul of the many there lost. But seeing myself a woman and wicked, disabled for promoting, as I desired, the service of Our Lord (since all my care was and still is that, whereas He has so many enemies and so few friends, these at least might be very good), I resolved what little in me lay, to wit, follow the evangelical counsels with all the perfection I could, and procure that these few nuns that are here might do the same. So that being all of us employed in prayer for the champions of the Church, the preachers and

[1] "Way of Perfection," chap. i. The translation is from the third English edition of St. Theresa's works (London, 1669–71), of which we shall have occasion to speak in the Life of Father Bede of St. Simon Stock, Part II. chap. vi.

teachers that defend her, we might to our utmost aid this my dear Lord, whom they seem determined to fasten to the Cross afresh, and not to leave Him a place where to lay His head."

Some years later the saint received news of the great need of souls in another quarter of the globe. "After four years," she writes in the "Book of Foundations" (chap. i. Nos. 6 and 7), "there came to see me a Franciscan Friar, Father Alonso Maldonado, a great servant of God, having the same desires that I had for the good of souls. He had just returned from the West Indies. He began by telling me of the many millions of souls there perishing through the want of instruction, and preached us a sermon encouraging us to do penance. I was so distressed because so many souls were perishing that I could not contain myself. I went to one of the hermitages, weeping much, and cried unto Our Lord, beseeching Him to show me, when the devil was carrying so many away, how I might do something to gain a soul for His service, and how I might do something by prayer now that I could do nothing else. During this great distress I was, one night, in prayer, when Our Lord appeared to me in His wonted manner and said, "Wait a little, my child, and thou shalt see great things."

Later on the saint wrote, in her playful manner, that if any of her nuns came to heaven unaccompanied by souls for whose salvation she had prayed and done penance, that nun might consider herself as having fallen short from her vocation.

St. Theresa's undertaking met with a success such

as she had never anticipated. From the foundation of St. Joseph's Convent in 1562, until her death on October 4, 1582, she founded not less than seventeen convents for nuns and fifteen monasteries for friars. Prayer for the conversion of infidels and heretics was, from the beginning, one of the chief duties of the nuns. As to the friars they added to prayer active work, by going from village to village instructing the ignorant in the Christian doctrine. Thus we learn that St. John of the Cross frequently undertook long missionary expeditions. As the number of friars increased, the missionary work assumed larger proportions. The Provincial Chapter of the Discalced Carmelites of 1581 decided upon the establishment of foreign missions. A monastery having been founded at Lisbon, the Order chose the Portuguese colonies in West Africa, Guinea, Angola and the country on the banks of the Congo, for the first missionary field, and on the 20th of March of the following year the first five Carmelite missionaries left Lisbon for those countries. Unfortunately they did not reach their destination. One night, the pilot being asleep, the vessel struck and foundered almost immediately, only two of the crew succeeding in saving themselves. Nothing daunted, the Provincial prepared a new expedition, consisting also of five fathers, which left the Continent in the spring of the following year. But ere long their vessel was taken by English privateers off Cape Verde, and the Carmelites returned to Europe despoiled of everything they possessed.

Even this second mishap was not sufficient to

quench the thirst for souls of these fervent religious. A third mission, of three Fathers, set out in April 1584, and reached the Congo in the autumn of the same year. They at once set to work, preaching the Gospel to the negroes, and reclaiming numerous Christian traders who had long since given up the practice of their religion. In this holy pursuit they continued four years, until at length complete want of the necessaries of life compelled them to return to Spain. In the meantime the Superiors of the Order had taken an important decision on a point of principle. In order to insure the maintenance of strict observance, they renounced the propagation of the Order outside the Peninsula. When, therefore, the three missionaries returned to Spain, they were given to understand that their missionary work was now at an end. However, previous to that decision the Order had already passed the frontiers of Spain. One of the members of the second African expedition, on being released from captivity, proceeded to Mexico, where he laid the foundation of a new province, destined to become one of the most flourishing of the Spanish Congregation of Discalced Carmelites.

About the same time, 1584, a monastery was established at Genoa, where many Italians, mostly noblemen, took the habit of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. The action of the Spanish Superiors determined the holy Father to withdraw, on his own initiative, the Italian Community from their jurisdiction, and to form it into a separate Congregation. Thus the Order was now divided into

three Congregations, that of the old observance (Calced Carmelites, which is still flourishing), the Spanish and the Italian Congregations of Discalced Carmelites, which were united some thirty years ago. The latter was empowered to make foundations in every country except Spain and Portugal. At a chapter held in 1598, it was decided that the Italian Congregation should include among the aims in view, the propagation of the gospel among infidels and heretics. The Pope himself suggested Persia as the first field of labour for the Carmelite missionaries. Such was the zeal of the Fathers, that each one of them, without the least hesitation, declared himself ready to lay down his offices and dignities, and to go forth for the conversion of unbelievers as soon as his Superiors should give him permission to do so. This promise, in almost identical words, is being made to the present day by all the members of the Order.

It was not until July 6, 1604, that the first expedition was actually sent out to Persia. Three Fathers, a lay-brother, and a tertiary proceeded through Germany, Poland, and Russia, following the course of the Volga, sailing across the Caspian Sea, until after more than three years of untold hardships they at last reached Ispahan on December 2, 1607. They met with surprising success, and being speedily reinforced, were soon able to extend their activity to Bagdad, Bassorah, and other towns, even penetrating into India, where they founded a most flourishing mission at Bombay, Quilon, Verapoly, and other places, many of which are still in

the hands of the Order, although the political events of the last century have proved fatal to some of our former missions. In course of time Syria, Palestine, Armenia, and Constantinople were added to the missionary fields of the Carmelite Order. It is not our intention to enlarge in these pages on those missions, but the foregoing remarks will suffice to show what an important part the Order took in the evangelisation of the East.

But it was not the East alone that called forth the zeal of the sons of St. Theresa. From the very beginning of the Italian Congregation the conversion of heretics had been planned, in accordance with the desires of the great saint whose own words we have quoted. Germany, Holland, and England were included in the programme of the missionaries. However, before this part of the work could be seriously undertaken, it was necessary that the opportunity should present itself; and this opportunity soon occurred, as the sequel of this narrative will show.

In order to insure a regular succession of labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, the Constitutions laid down that there should be at least one missionary college, St. Pancras, outside the walls of Rome, and, if possible, similar houses in other provinces, for the training of young religious in sciences most needful for the missionaries. Those among the younger members of the Order who manifested a talent for missionary work were sent to the college for some years to study controversy, practical theology, languages, and natural sciences. After a year's residence they were allowed to take the missionary

oath; two years later they returned to their own province until a vacancy in one of the missions necessitated the appointment of a new labourer. By means of this excellent system the Order was enabled to send out thoroughly efficient subjects at very short notice. Besides St. Pancras in Rome, there was also the missionary seminary of Louvain, to which we shall frequently allude in this work.

The Carmelites owed their renown as missioners not alone to the missions they established and worked successfully; their great glory in this respect was the foundation of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda. This important branch of the Roman Curia was first established by Pope Gregory XIII., but disappeared again after a brief existence, until one of the most zealous Carmelites, Ven. Father Thomas of Jesus[1] took up the idea, and in a voluminous work on the "Salvation of Heathens," pointed out the importance of missions and the best manner of conducting the same. Father Thomas had been called to Rome by the Pope himself, who wished to send him either to Abyssinia or to the Congo. Unforeseen circumstances rendered his departure impossible, but he employed his enforced leisure on the composition of the work mentioned, in which he treats at great length of the obligation of the Church to procure by every possible means the conversion of unbelievers, and points out the best way of bringing about their evangelisation. Among other things

[1] We shall have an occasion to speak at some length of this truly great man when treating of the College of Louvain and the "Desert" of Marlagne.

he advises the formation of a Congregation of Cardinals and other ecclesiastical dignitaries, whose principal duty it would be to organise regular missionary expeditions, to provide them with the indispensable means, and to train ecclesiastics for the apostolic life; in short, the entire work which was printed at Antwerp in 1613 became the programme which was faithfully adhered to, even in minute detail, by Pope Gregory XV. But if the latter was under obligation to one Carmelite for the working out of this stupendous plan, he was no less obliged to another for a considerable part of the funds wherewith to carry it out. The Ven. Father Dominic of Jesus Mary,[1] the great wonder-worker of the seventeenth century, collected on his prolonged journeys through the length and breadth of Europe large sums of money for the foundation of the Propaganda, so that these two remarkable men are the real originators of a work of such vast importance.

[1] Ven. Father Dominic of Jesus Mary, born at Calatajud in Spain in 1559, having entered the Carmelite Order at the early age of nine, joined the Reform of St. Theresa, in which he at once rose to the most important offices. In addition to remarkable talents, he possessed wonderful supernatural gifts, and wrought the most astonishing miracles. Having been called to Rome by Pope Clement VIII. in 1604, he was elected General of the Order in 1617. Two years later the Pope sent him to Austria to support the Emperor Ferdinand II. in his struggle against the Bohemian rebels. With the aid of a picture of the Blessed Virgin, which has become known by the name of Our Lady of Victories, Dominic determined the great victory of the White Mountain (8th November 1619). Wherever he went people crowded to see the "Thaumaturge," to witness his miraculous powers. Pope Gregory XV. nominated him Cardinal *in petto*, but died without having proclaimed the election. Dominic himself died at Vienna on 16th February 1630, his body being preserved incorrupt in the Carmelite church of that town.

Notwithstanding the wide scope of the missionary spirit, the chief object of the Carmelite Order is not active but contemplative life. There can be no doubt that while it was confined to the East alone it was altogether contemplative; the Rule, confirmed by the lives of our early saints, says so. On being transplanted to Europe, the Carmelites added the duties of the active to those of the contemplative life. St. Theresa, while encouraging active work among the friars (the nuns always led an entirely contemplative life), desired that even with them contemplation should occupy the first place. In fact the labours of the apostolic ministry, whatever form they may assume, are merely the outcome of a life of prayer, and the more intense this spirit, the more efficacious the ministry.

Throughout the history of the Church we find that the greatest contemplatives ever have been the most zealous men. Instance the example of St. Augustine, St. Bernard, St. Francis of Assisi, St. Francis de Sales, and, in our own Order, St. Theresa and St. John of the Cross themselves, Ven. Father Dominic of Jesus Mary, Thomas of Jesus, John of Jesus Mary,[1] and many others.

Contemplation is the grand attribute of Almighty

[1] Ven. Father John of Jesus Mary, born at Calahora in Spain in 1564, entered the Order about 1582. He was sent to Genoa for his studies, and became one of the first members of the Italian Congregation, in which he occupied almost every dignity, even that of General (1611–14). His death occurred on 28th May 1615, and his body remains incorrupt to the present day. A most renowned writer, he has left numerous works on Mystical Theology, as also Instructions for Superiors, Novices, and Students, which latter have been incorporated in the Constitutions, and are still in vigour.

God, who derives infinite beatitude from the knowledge and love of Himself; it forms the felicity of the blessed in heaven, who, by the light of glory gaze on the perfections of the Most High. But upon earth it can only be attained in a limited degree. The knowledge of God obtained by meditation rather than by study, and the "Charity of God poured forth in our hearts by the Holy Ghost who is given to us," together with the mortification of our unruly passions, bring the soul within reach of the Godhead, and not seldom give it a foretaste of the joys of heaven. Thus, all those who one day will be saved are called to the contemplative life in its most perfect form; what wonder, then, that many, impressed by the sublime dignity of their supernatural destiny, should aspire to it as it may be enjoyed on earth, when the soul is in closest union with its Creator? It is a matter of deep concern that, of the countless souls called to the contemplative life, few only heed the voice of Him who calls. Among the Religious Orders there are some expressly founded for the benefit of contemplative souls. Such are the Carthusians, who devote their whole time and, what is more, their whole strength, to contemplation. The Carmelite Order, while asserting its contemplative character, admits, as a secondary aim, the works of the apostolic ministry, for the love of God necessarily leads to the love of one's neighbour. Hence the missionary spirit of this Order is but the result of its contemplative spirit.

In order the better to carry out the various works

of the contemplative and active life, the Carmelite monasteries are divided into classes. The convents of nuns are entirely reserved for the former, whereas the monasteries of friars are either novitiate Houses for the training of young Religious, or Houses of study for those who have to undergo a course of philosophy and theology; Houses for professed Religious, mostly situated in towns, for the exercise of the holy ministry, and Hermitages or "Deserts." Of the latter we shall speak at some length in the course of our narrative; for the present it will suffice to say that they are set apart for the practice of prayer and mortification, and are open only to the most fervent Religious.

The life of a Carmelite is necessarily subject to changes according to the aim of the House of which he is conventual, but the following short description will at least give a general idea of the daily routine in our monasteries.

Shortly before midnight the brethren rise and repair to the choir, where at the twelfth stroke of the hour they commence Matins according to the Roman rite.[1] The singing is not Plain-chant, as in the monasteries of the Benedictine, Trappist, or Carthusian Orders, but a kind of simple monotone, which, however, is not devoid of solemnity. Matins last about an hour and a quarter, followed by a short

[1] Originally the Discalced Carmelites followed the rite of the "Holy Sepulchre," a Franco-Roman rite, similar to that of the Dominicans, and still in use among the Calced Carmelites. But in Advent 1586 they, by permission of the Pope, adopted the Roman rite.

meditation before the Blessed Sacrament. The Midnight Office is of great importance; at a time when the world is forgetful of God, or even grievously offending His majesty, the Church, through her various Religious Orders, presents herself in supplication before His throne, praising His glorious name, and expiating for the world's sinfulness.

About 2 A.M. the monks are back in their cells to take some repose: not an easy thing to do on cold winter nights. They rise again before five to chant Prime and Terce and make an hour's meditation, which is followed by Mass. Each priest says low Mass at the time and the altar appointed by the Prior; on Sundays and feasts there is also sung Mass. Allowing about an hour for Mass, with preparation and thanksgiving, there remain three hours to be spent in work. Each member of the Community has his special offices or duties; some have charge of the household and its administration, others the care of the library; others, again, are employed in the sacred ministry, hearing confessions and preaching the Word of God. Thus the difficulty is not how to find work, but rather how to do it all in such a short time.

The true home of the monk is his cell. This is about twelve feet long by ten in width. Its furniture is of the simplest kind; the bed consists of a board, six feet by two and a half or three feet, resting on trestles, and covered with some blankets and a pillow. There is a writing-table, with shelves for books, and a chair. On the walls are a cross and some pious pictures.

At half-past ten Sext and None are recited in choir, followed at eleven by dinner. This is the first, and during the greater part of the year the only, meal. Those, however, who are unable to keep such a long fast can easily obtain permission to take a cup of coffee after Mass. Dinner consists of vegetables, fish, and eggs, with cheese and fruit. Meat is only given to the sick and infirm, and these have a special place in the refectory; even visitors and guests are bound to abstinence as long as they remain in the monastery, unless, indeed, they are in delicate health themselves.

After dinner there is an hour's recreation in common, but during the rest of the day silence is strictly enjoined. At two o'clock Vespers are chanted, frequently followed by the Office of the Dead. The afternoon is devoted to work, only interrupted by an hour's meditation. In the evening there is a second meal, followed by a short recreation in summer, but in winter there is only a small collation. Compline and Night Prayers having been said, the Religious retire to their cells about half-past seven.

The Carmelite habit consists of a wide brown tunic, girt with a leather cincture, a scapular or broad strip of brown cloth reaching both in front and behind from the shoulders almost to the feet. The Fathers wear also a brown hood and a long white cloak with hood (hence the name "White Friars"); while the lay-brothers have a brown cloak without hood. All the Orders that underwent Reformation towards the end of the Middle Ages

adopted sandals instead of boots and stockings, so that the term "Discalced" has become almost synonymous with Reformed.

With regard to the government of the Order, there are no perpetual Superiors, Provincials and Priors being elected every Triennium; but the General, whose residence is in Rome, remains six years in office. None of the Superiors enjoy personal privileges beyond that of being the most punctual and most fervent in choir, the most mortified in the refectory, and the most assiduous at work. They take their turn in sweeping the house and washing the dishes, just like the latest Novice.

This brief sketch will show what manner of life was led by the men whose biographies are contained in the following pages. Though austere by reason of the lifelong abstinence, the strict fasting, the broken rest at night, and the all but perpetual silence, it is far from dull or monotonous.

Before turning to the history of the English Mission, we ought to mention that the Carmelites, though not by any means a military Order, almost entered upon English soil in a way that would lead one to regard them in that capacity. The first fleet sent out to protect Spanish interests against Queen Elizabeth having perished in 1588, a second "Armada" was prepared, and put to sea in 1598. Fifteen Discalced Carmelites accompanied it as chaplains, under the leadership of Father Mark of the Blessed Sacrament. But this second Armada was hardly more successful than the first, except in so far as all the vessels returned safely to Spain with-

out having cast anchor in a single English port. Father Mark died as chaplain to the Carmelite nuns at Saragossa.[1]

Another Carmelite, Father George Rainer of Mechlin, proceeded to England as a missioner, but suffered, it is asserted, martyrdom in 1613. As this Religious belonged to the Calced Carmelites, not the Discalced, his history does not come within the scope of this work.

Finally, we should mention that there is a manuscript history of the English Mission by Father Blasius of the Purification (1705), which is preserved in the archives of the Order. This indefatigable writer composed an elaborate work, for which he had carefully collected all the documents and letters preserved in the Roman archives, and which have been equally utilised for the compilation of the following biographical notices. But his style is exceedingly diffuse. The instructions for missionaries drawn up by the Order prescribe that they should forward to Rome an exact description of the countries visited, containing indications of the geographical situation, the boundaries, mountains, rivers, and lakes, the principal towns, the various races of

[1] *Collectio Script. Ord. Car. Excal.* (Savona, 1884), vol. ii. p. 9. A military Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel was established by Henry IV. of France in 1608, and was united with what remained of the Order of Knights and Hospitallers of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. The first Grand Master was Claude de Nérestang, who also founded the Carmelite monastery at Lyons in 1618–19, where he lies interred. See *Annales des Carmes Déchaussés de France*, by Father Louis de Ste. Thérèse, new edition, Laval, 1891, vol. i., p. lv. of the Preface. For the gorgeous insignia of these knights, see Hélyot, *Ord. Rel.*, vol. i.

inhabitants, their languages, customs, religion, occupation, political and civil institutions, and so forth. Of course this instruction was originally intended for those missionaries who were sent out to Persia, India, or other remote countries. Still we find among Father Blasius's papers a lengthy description of England, most conscientiously conforming to these directions, and evidently intended as an introduction to the "History of the English Mission." It is certainly very accurate in detail, not even omitting a description of the woolsack of the Lord Chancellor; but it is not such as could serve any practical purpose in these pages.

PART I

THE FOUNDATION OF THE ENGLISH MISSION

(1615–1660)

CHAPTER I

FATHER SIMON STOCK OF ST. MARY (THOMAS DOUGHTY)

Birth of the missioner—His own account of his youth and education—Becomes a Discalced Carmelite—His zeal for the conversion of England—State of the country on his arrival here, A.D. 1615—Father Simon Stock's relations with the family of the Blessed Sir Thomas More—His struggles and trials and holy death.

THE first of our missionaries was Thomas Doughty, of Plombley, co. Lincoln, born about the year 1574, whether of Protestant or Catholic parents it is difficult to say. Some writers speak of him as a convert, but he himself affords no grounds for such an assumption in the short narrative of his career, which he wrote in Italian at the express wish of his Superiors, when he was already advanced in years. From the fact of his having taken the name of Simon Stock of St. Mary in religion, we might infer that it was his holy ambition to restore the ancient glory of the Carmelite Order in that country where it had received its most signal favour from Carmel's heavenly Queen: the Brown Scapular, with the extraordinary promises attached to the wearing of it. Alluding to his earlier years, Father Simon relates:—

"My parents, whose tenth child I was, dedicated

me in my infancy to Almighty God and His Church, and with hopeful desires they took great care that I should apply myself to study. After their death I was sent to school to a place where the ruins of many monasteries still remained, and, notwithstanding my tender age, Our Lord made me feel great pain at the destruction of so many Religious houses, and the ruin of religion itself. Wherefore, by the grace of Our Lord I made a vow of chastity, and resolved to further the interest of Holy Church in England by every possible means. However, being but a youth in the midst of heretics, and without aid (for in those times it was a rare thing to meet a priest), I was unable for many years to carry out my resolution, and at last the Protestants began to persecute me grievously. They convicted me in many law-sittings of being a Papist, which they considered a capital crime, and in consequence they confiscated my property and estates. Meanwhile I persuaded one of the principal ladies of the country to become a Catholic, and introduced a priest to her under the guise of tutor or schoolmaster, and he received her into the Church. But this was discovered, and being made a case of high treason, I was deemed a source of danger, though but a boy, to the English realm; so much so that my own relatives were afraid to receive me into their houses, or give me a night's lodging, and thus, by the grace of God, I was compelled to leave my kindred and country on account of the persecution, and to put my long-conceived design into execution.

"Having escaped from England with much diffi-

culty, I hesitated as to whether I should be of more service to my country as a soldier or as a scholar, and for a long time the former idea prevailed. While staying in Flanders I went twice to the siege of Ostend (July 5, 1601, till September 20, 1604), not, indeed, as a soldier, but in order to study the art of war. I soon became conscious of my want of experience, and of the necessity of acquiring a knowledge of languages, mathematics, and of the laws and customs of nations. I availed myself of the company of some friends, with whom I travelled round the world, studying laws and mathematics, how to construct fortifications, to set up artillery, to array soldiers in squares and line of battle, and the handling of guns; in short, everything useful for my purpose. Once I returned to England (as attendant upon Mr. Anthony Roper, of Eltham) to raise the necessary funds for my travels, but I was taken prisoner by the Protestants. When set free I continued my travels for several years, and then returned a second time with the same intention. Ultimately I went to Brussels, with the purpose of preparing for my struggle with the Protestants.

"But it was the Will of God that I should meet there an English gentleman, a great friend of mine, of the same age, and actuated by the same sentiments as myself. He, however, was preparing to go to Rome, with the intention of joining the Congregation of the Oratory at the Chiesa Nuova. Like myself, he had been exiled from England by the Protestants. He urged me to abandon my idea of a private warfare, and to accompany him to Rome and study

theology there. So powerful were his reasons that I was induced to abandon my project and to set out with him. I also took a solemn vow (when at the English college) to go on the mission in England if deemed fit for the duty."

In the register of the English College in Rome we find the following entry regarding Father Simon Stock:—

"No. 444. *October* 1606.—Thomas Doughty, *alias* Dawson, about thirty years of age, confirmed, was admitted on trial into this college by Father Robert Persons, Rector of the same. He received the First Tonsure on 19th September 1608, was made Ostiarius on September 20th, Lector on the 29th, Exorcist on October 4th, and Acolyte on the 19th of the same month. Further, he was ordained Subdeacon on 6th March, Deacon on the 27th, and Priest on the 2nd of May 1610. He entered the Order of the *Scalzi*, but left it as a novice, and finally re-entered it in Flanders." And in the margin appears the following note: "He took the oath in the usual form on 24th August 1608. So be it. (Signed) Thomas Doughteus."

"From that time" (the autumn of 1606, when he entered the English College) "it often seemed to me," continues Father Simon, "that Our Lord was calling me to Carmel, and that I ought to introduce the Order into England. This appeared strange, and I raised difficulties, because I did not know then that the Discalced Carmelites took a missionary vow, nor had I ever spoken with, or even seen, one of them. However, the Will of God became so manifest and

forcible that I could no longer doubt the Divine intentions in my regard. Thereupon I twice made the Spiritual Exercises under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers, at the conclusion of which they assured me that it was indeed God's Will, and also informed me that the Discalced Carmelites *did* go on the missions. So I entered and passed without difficulty through my novitiate for about nine months, when one afternoon I was meditating on the great love Queen Esther bore to God, never glorying in all the splendour of her greatness, save only in the Lord God of Abraham (Est. xiv. 18). At that moment I myself felt such a vehement love of God that I thought my heart was breaking, for I could feel it beating through the habit, and I even lost a great quantity of blood. I went to the novice-master and told him what I had suffered from the Divine love, so much so that my heart was broken, and I asked him to feel with his own hand. He put his hand to my right side. 'No,' said I, 'the other side,' and my heart continued to palpitate violently, and I again lost much blood. Ever since that time I remained weak, and could neither stretch out my arms nor sing in choir. I earnestly recommended myself to Our Lord, for I could see that I should have to leave the Order on account of my infirmity. And so it came to pass. But since it happened through no fault of mine, I remained quite content and glad, having done on my own part what Our Lord bade me do. I was now at liberty to labour for the conversion of England.

"Not wishing to remain any longer in Rome under

medical treatment, I returned to England, not, however, without difficulty. I obtained faculties for the exercise of priestly functions, and reconciled many Protestants to the Church. But while engaged upon that work I again fell ill, even unto death. So, at all events, it seemed to me. When I thought I was in my agony, being quite alone, I got up and knelt down by my bedside, with a desire to die in the position in which so many holy martyrs had died, only regretting that mine was not a martyr's death. Among other things I said to Our Lord, with the words of Ezechias when he was dying: 'I beseech Thee, O Lord, remember how I have walked before Thee in truth and with a perfect heart' (Isa. xxxviii. 3). Thereupon our Lord was pleased to restore me to health, and grant me, as I expected, fifteen more years.

"Soon after I sent a postulant, named John Hiccocks (Father Bede of the Blessed Sacrament), to the Discalced Carmelites of Brussels, and the Fathers there begged me to return to the Order myself. But I answered that I was more feeble than when I left Rome, and that more would be done for the glory of God if I remained as I was, as I could work more profitably. At last they replied that my nine months' novitiate in Rome would count, and that immediately after my profession I should be sent back to England. I put the question before Our Lord, who gave me to understand that my return to the Order would be the occasion of a heavy cross to me, and the cause of many afflictions. In order to please the Fathers, I went myself to Flanders, and

explained to them my reasons in writing, telling them also how I should be able to send them young men with whom they could open an English Mission later on. After hesitating about four or five days, I at last yielded, and they brought a habit to my cell, which I put on just as the professed Religious do each morning, *i.e.* without the ceremonies used at the Solemn Clothing of a Novice. I was, however, in fear concerning this affliction, of which I had been warned, not knowing whence it was to come."

When the time for his profession drew near, the General, overruling the promise made to Father Simon, decided that, according to the decree of the Council of Trent, he ought to make a twelve months' novitiate. Father Simon Stock felt this decision so keenly, fearing the whole project of an English Mission had been abandoned, that he would have left the Order but for the scandal such a step might have caused the English Catholics, who well knew for what purpose he had remained in Flanders. At last he made his profession on 6th October 1613, but was still kept back until the Chapter General, which was held in 1614. It was then decreed that a mission should be established in England; and the newly elected General, Ven. Father Ferdinand of Jesus Mary, having obtained a Brief from Paul V., sent letters-patent to Father Simon Stock, as the first English Carmelite missionary, whom likely he himself had known as a novice in Rome. Father Simon eagerly obeyed, and left Belgium in the April of 1615. He was accompanied by a lay-brother, who only remained a few months in England.

On the same occasion the Papal Nuncio at Brussels commissioned Father Simon Stock to ascertain the wishes of the English clergy regarding the appointment of a Superior for the mission in England. This was a very difficult and delicate task, and involved Father Simon in a controversy which would have little or no interest for our readers; but eventually Dr. Harrison was nominated "Archpriest," 11th of July 1615.[1]

Our missioner did not reach England without adventure. "I was taken prisoner by the Protestants at Flushing in Zealand; but I soon regained my freedom, and at last landed in this country after many trials.

"Later on, I received instructions from my Superiors which I could not possibly carry out; this caused me much worry for years, nor has the trouble yet ceased.

"As for the fruit of my labours, on an average I reconciled ten or twelve Protestants to the Church every year, and last year seventeen. I have sent fourteen young men into various Religious Orders. I have written seven books which have been printed, and some others at the request of private friends, which are not published. I have had several interviews with Queen Anne (of Denmark), in which I explained to her the foundations of our faith, but she always put off her conversion, and finally died outside the true Church, although in heart a Catholic.[2]

[1] Dodd (Tierney's ed.), vol. v. pp. 65, 66.

[2] She died 2nd March 1619. In view of Father Simon's positive statement, the assertion (Foley, Records, vol. vii. p. 2) that she had been received by Father Robert Abercromby, S.J., can scarcely be admitted.

"Often the constables were on my track. One night I was in a house administering the sacraments to some people, while the constables were on the watch outside. The following morning I was sitting in the largest room of the house hearing confessions, with the doors wide open. Presently I heard them entering in search of me. I remained where I was while they searched the whole house, and actually looked into the room where I was sitting, but they did not see me, as many can testify. Had I made an attempt to hide myself, or made the least noise, they would have apprehended me. But as I remained quiet, only recommending myself to Our Lord, and accepting with resignation His Will, even hoping that I should be taken prisoner, He miraculously delivered me. May it please His Divine Majesty that it redound to His glory. Amen."

In this simple narrative of his career, Father Simon Stock gives us an insight into his own character, strongly marked by the circumstances of his earlier years. From his very childhood he had to endure hardships, privations, disappointments, and contradictions, without having any one to advise or befriend him. Hence he became very reserved in disposition, and does not seem to have changed much in this respect even after his entrance into religion. Doubtlessly this was the reason of his having been often misunderstood by his brethren and fellow-labourers on the mission; while any opposition to his own views led him to think that others were placing obstacles in the way of the work which he himself had so dearly at heart.

Soon after his arrival in England, Father Simon Stock became acquainted with some Genoese merchants, who introduced him to Count de Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador. This gentleman received him into his own family, and chose him for his confessor—a most fortunate circumstance for Father Simon, for he now enjoyed Spanish protection, and might even exercise the sacred ministry publicly. From an account of the Canonical Visitation of 1635 we learn that sometimes he actually wore his religious habit within the confines of the Embassy. He did not reside there, however, for in Gee's list of "Names of the Romish Priests and Jesuits now residing about the City of London, 1623," he is alluded to as "Father Simon, a Carmelite, author of divers late foolish pamphlets; his lodging is in the lower end of Holborn"—probably the city mansion of the Roper family.[1]

It was owing to the fact of his being himself an Englishman that his own compatriots, whether Catholic or Protestant, might visit Father Simon Stock with impunity; and because of his connection with the Spanish Embassy he was received, as we have seen, at Hampton Court. And when the proposed marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Infanta of Spain (A.D. 1623) brought a crowd of noble visitors to the Embassy, we are told that the zealous missioner succeeded in making quite a number of converts among the guests. The Count de Gondomar returned to Spain the same year, but Father Simon retained the chaplaincy under his

[1] Foley, Records, vol. i. p. 677.

successors, Don Carlos Colona and Don Nicolaldi; in fact, thenceforth in the filling of this important post the preference was always given to a Discalced Carmelite. However, from the year 1633 until his death in 1652 we find that Father Simon lived in the house of a Catholic lady—the widow of either Mr. Anthony Roper, or of his son, Mr. Edward Roper —near Canterbury; and only came to town occasionally, especially on the great festivals, to hear the confession of the Ambassador.

Being most anxious to establish the mission on a solid basis, Father Simon unceasingly urged the advisability of founding a Novitiate for the English Fathers in one of the nearest Catholic towns on the Continent. Despite his efforts in this respect, the foundation did not take place until long after his death. When missions were first introduced in the Order it was decided that there should be a seminary, where those Religious who had already passed through their novitiate and finished their course of philosophical and theological study, and who were willing and able to devote themselves to the conversion of unbelievers, should receive a final training for missionary work. This seminary was to be under the jurisdiction of a procurator of the missions, who himself stood in direct communication with the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, which was to contribute largely to the expenses of the mission. This was undoubtedly a very wise arrangement so far as concerned Oriental missions, which were most extensive and flourishing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. But for England the case was very different.

Missionaries to England had to be English. When a young Englishman (or Scotchman, as the case might be) joined the Order, he did so with a view of spending his life in working for the conversion of his own countrymen. Meanwhile he had to go through his noviceship and course of studies, which together lasted little less than ten years. The Benedictines, Franciscans, and Dominicans (through the munificence of Cardinal Howard) had special houses on the Continent belonging to the English Mission, and under the immediate jurisdiction of the Superior of the missioners. But the English Carmelites were dependent on the charity of foreign communities, usually in Belgium and in Italy, for the education of their subjects, and consequently laboured under very serious disadvantages compared with the members of the other Religious Orders in England. Hence was Father Simon Stock so anxious to have a monastery in some Catholic country where English postulants could be prepared for the duties of the mission in their native country; and he would certainly have carried out his project, all the more as the Infanta of Spain in Brussels promised abundant alms, and the Spanish Ambassador at St. James's supported it with his moral and financial credit, both in his own name and in that of his sovereign, had his Superiors been able to consider the matter from his point of view. But they had to attend to issues of the case, which one so deeply interested as Father Simon would naturally have overlooked; although it must have grieved them to cause a Religious, renowned for his zeal and holiness, so keen a mortification.

However, later on Father Simon Stock was instrumental in the establishment of a missionary college at Louvain (A.D. 1621), founded expressly for the education of priests for the English Mission; and when, in the year 1624, the newly elected Superior-General, Father Paul Simon,[1] summoned Father Simon Stock to meet him in Belgium, it was more than likely to confer on this same subject, which our missioner had so dearly at heart. But Father Simon could not possibly leave England just then, as the persecution against Catholics was raging fiercely, even the protection of the Spanish Ambassador being no longer a safeguard from the fury of the fanatics. Six Catholic gentlemen who had tried to escape to Flanders, quite recently, (July 1624), among the Ambassador's suite, were arrested in that nobleman's presence, and were cast into prison. At the General Chapter held in May 1626, Father Paul Simon did much to advance the welfare of the English Mission, then in a very sad state, owing to the number of zealous priests

[1] Born at Genoa, he entered the Order on 12th November 1595, assuming the name "Paul of Jesus Mary." Having made his studies in Spain, he became Superior at Naples, where he also lectured on philosophy until July 6, 1604, when he was sent to Persia to inaugurate the mission there, the Pope having added to his name that of "Simon," in honour of the apostle of that country. He reached Ispahan, after almost incredible difficulties, on 2nd December 1607, but was recalled to Rome after a short time. Entrusted with high offices and dignities, he was promoted to that of General in May 1623, again in 1632, and finally in 1641, but died before the expiration of his tenure of office, July 29, 1643, aged sixty-seven. While General he published the Constitutions of the Order in their present form.

who had been arrested for daring to exercise their sacred ministry.

As already stated, Father Simon Stock left London in 1633, to take up his abode in Canterbury, at the residence of the Roper family, who were relatives of the Blessed Martyr, Sir Thomas More. His last letter is dated 1635. He lived, however, for many years after that date. On December 16, 1633, the then Vicar-Provincial, Father Eliseus, wrote to Rome, "Father Simon Stock is generally in the country. He is always the same, but he never says much about himself." In 1646 another Vicar-Provincial, Father Elias of Jesus, said in his report that Father Simon, in spite of his old age (about seventy-two), is not less fervent than when he was young. A manuscript chronicle of the mission gives the following account of his death:—

"Father Simon Stock of St. Mary died on 15th August 1652, in the house of a noble widow near Canterbury. For many years he suffered from an ulcer in the leg, which, notwithstanding the care and skill of physicians and surgeons, was never more than apparently healed, and ultimately turned to gangrene. He expired after an illness of only eight days, while chanting the Divine praises. This Father was the first missionary of our Order in England, and laboured for nearly forty years for the conversion of souls. He led many to the Catholic faith, and inspired everybody with piety by word and example. He was much given to prayer and contemplation, as is clearly shown by some pious books written and published by him on this subject. His

controversial tracts, like his preaching, had always the effect of making heretics extremely uneasy."

Fearing for the eventual success of the Carmelite Mission in England, he deemed it more prudent to bequeath his books, vestments, and the sacred vessels to the Carthusians, who, however, were not established in the country at the time of his death. But his own life's work was a sure beginning, although he was denied the happiness of beholding the fruits of his labours: so true is it that "one man soweth and another man reapeth."

The following is a list of the published writings of Father Simon Stock, to which allusion has been made:[1]—

1. "An humble appeal to the King's most excellent Majesty: wherein is proved that Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ is the Author of the Catholic Roman Faith. By John Hunt, Gent." London, 1620, 4to. John Gee, parson of Newton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire, who pretended to be converted, came up to London in 1623 and became intimate with many Catholics, published the result of his treacherous enquiry into their affairs in his "Foot out of the Snare" in 1624. In his list of priests in and about London he includes "Simons, a Carmelite, author of divers late foolish pamphlets," of which the above was one. In the same list he also speaks of "Hunt, a Carthusian Friar, lodging in Holborne, an old man." As there was no Carthusian of this name at the period, the reference is probably due to an error into which the informer frequently falls, owing to

[1] See p. 30. The above list has been kindly communicated by Mr. Joseph Gillow, author of the "Biographical History, and Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics."

his imperfect acquaintance with the *aliases* used by priests, "Hunt" having been one of Father Simon's assumed names.

2–3. "Jesus, Maria, Joseph. The practice how to finde Ease, Rest, Repose, Content, and Happiness, containing directions how to make Mental and Spirituall Prayer." Douay, 1618, and Roan, 1619, 2 vols. very thick 12mo.

4. "Jesus, Mary, Joseph.—The Practice of the Presence of God and how to seeke, finde, and enjoy Him, who is the peace, rest, repose, and happy life of man. Written by S.S., of the Congregation of S. Elias the Prophet, and of the Order of Our Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel, restored by the Blessed Mother and Virgin Saint Teresa. The third Part." Roan, 1623, 12mo.

5. A later work elicited from Sir Edward Dering, Bart., a reply entitled: "The Foure Cardinall Vertues of a Carmelite Friar, observed and sent backe againe to their author, Simon Stock, *alias* Father Simons, *alias* John Hunt, *alias* Anonymus Eremita." London, 1641, 4to.

6–7. "Of the Visible Sacrifice of the Church of God. In two parts. Written by Anonymus Eremita." Bruxelles, 1637–8, 4to, 2 vols.

As to the manuscript works, they are probably all lost with one exception. The Procurator-General of the Order addressed himself on 14th March 1633 to our missionaries on behalf of a committee who were preparing a new history of the Carmelite Order,[1] and asked for information con-

[1] Father Isidore of St. Joseph (Liévin de Baes), born at Ypres in 1596, joined the Carmelite Order at Brussels in 1622. Having successively filled many high offices, he was elected Procurator-General and Historiographer, and as such prepared the *Historia Generalis*, the first volume of which appeared in 1668, under the name of Father Peter of St. Andrew, the author having died two years previously. A second volume, by the last-named writer, was

cerning the same. On the 20th of May of the same year, Father Elias sent a list of authors who treated on the subject, and promised to occupy himself with it as far as time and opportunity would permit. On the 2nd of November Father Simon reports on his own researches, in which he was assisted by a learned antiquarian, and on 6th December the Vicar-Provincial, Father Eliseus, forwarded all the notes which he had obtained from historians. About a year later (7th February 1635) Father Simon writes that "he has completed an erudite history of SS. Palladius, Kentigern, and other early British saints," whom he claimed on the very doubtful hypothesis, that all the Monks of old who did not belong to the Basilian or Benedictine Orders must have belonged to the Carmelite, as no other existed; whereas they may have been simply observing a Rule of life in conformity to the Canons of the Church, or subject to the bishop of the diocese or to their own abbot, as was not unusual previous to the marvellous monastic development inaugurated at Cluny.

With regard to Father Simon's book on the lives of those saints, he asked to be allowed to publish it at Antwerp, as profitable reading for future missionaries. But it was never printed, and the MS. remains in the archives of the Order to the present day.

published in 1671 after the author's death. Instead of continuing this extensive publication, the Order advised the several provinces to prepare provincial histories. Consequently Father Louis of St. Theresa edited his *Annales des Carmes Déchaussés de France*, while the history of the Belgian Province (Brit. Mus. Add. 17,988) remained unpublished.

CHAPTER II

FATHER ELISEUS OF ST. MICHAEL (WILLIAM PENDRYCK)

Conversion of William Pendryck—He joins the Carmelite Order—Becomes chaplain to an English nobleman—A fatal duel—Martyrdom of Father MacGeoghegan—Labours of Carmelite missioners—Sir Thomas Fairfax and the English Catholics—Last illness and death of the missioner.

WHILE Father Simon Stock was the only Carmelite missionary in England, he was under the jurisdiction of the Prior of Brussels; but at the General Chapter held in Rome in 1617, at which the Order was divided into Provinces, the English Mission was placed under the supervision of the Provincial of Belgium. The question of jurisdiction was finally settled, when on the 3rd of July 1618 a second missionary arrived in London with the title of Vicar-Provincial, which henceforth was bestowed upon the Superiors of the mission. William Pendryck, born of Protestant parents at Fraserburgh, co. Aberdeen, in 1583, was studying philosophy in Paris when God showed him two signal favours: the light of Faith and the call to the Religious life. At that time two Discalced Carmelites arrived in Paris with the intention of founding a monastery of their Order there. Almost insurmountable obstacles were put in their

way, and it was only after tedious negotiations, and the exercise of much patience, that they succeeded in their task. The formal opening of the house took place on 22nd September 1611. They transferred the novitiate from Avignon to Paris, the second postulant to whom they gave the habit being William Pendryck, who assumed the name of "Eliseus of St. Michael." His novice-master was the Ven. Father Bernard of St. Joseph,[1] whose own pre-eminent holiness might have been traced through an entire generation of Religious. Certainly it speaks well both for master and novice, that after forty years Father Eliseus was still in possession of his first fervour, and retained it until death. Father Bernard was himself a novice of the Ven. Father John of Jesus Mary, who, both by his Instruction for Novices and Instruction for Novice-masters, has laid down once for all the principles for the education of young Religious.

Father Eliseus made his profession on 24th February 1613, and soon after was sent to Rome to study Theology. Accordingly, he and his companion set out with nothing but their habits and Breviaries, as the instructions prescribe. On reaching the monastery of St. Ann at Genoa, the Prior, Ven. Father Ferdinand of St. Mary (who had been General from 1605–8, and was twice re-elected, viz. for 1614–17 and 1629–31, in which year he died), retained them, a course of Divinity being about to

[1] For the life of this Religious see *Annales des Carmes Déchaussés*, by Father Louis de Ste. Thérèse, vol. ii. ad ann. 1649; also, *Decor Carmeli*, by Father Philip of the Blessed Trinity, vol. iii. p. 193; and *Les Carmes Déchaussés en France*, by Father Albert of St. Saviour, vol. i. p. 528.

begin there. Father Eliseus was no less distinguished as a theologian than he had been as a philosopher; but above all he was an exemplary Religious, so that the then General, Ven. Father Dominic of Jesus Mary, only waited for the end of his studies to entrust him with the presidency of the English Mission.

On the day he arrived in London he was placed by Father Simon Stock in the family of Lord Teynham, described as "a Catholic nobleman, who on his mother's side was a descendant of Blessed Thomas More." Father Eliseus remained their chaplain for nearly eighteen years. The noble lord was most anxious about the safety of his chaplain. He never spoke with him except in Italian, nor would he allow him any intercourse with the other priests, so that Father Eliseus had to go to town for confession. Naturally he made no acquaintances beyond the Catholic members of the household, the relations of Lord Teynham and some of the neighbouring gentry, of whom he received several into the Church. This retirement lasted for several years, but it came to an end when Lord Teynham fixed his abode at Eltham in Kent. There his father, who had been exiled to France, joined him, but died in a short time (1622). Lord Teynham practised the most extensive hospitality at Eltham, with the result that Father Eliseus was brought into contact with a much wider circle of acquaintances than at his first station, and was himself able to receive some visitors.

In the early part of 1624 the General, Father Paul Simon, was making an official visitation of the French and Belgian monasteries. It being

impossible at that moment for the English Fathers to meet him in Belgium, he commissioned Father Bernard, the former novice-master of Father Eliseus, to perform the Visitation in England in his name. Father Bernard set out in secular dress for fear of the persecution, and arrived safely at Eltham, where he gathered around him the three missionaries, Fathers Simon, Eliseus, and Edmund. A manuscript chronicle of the mission gives the following account: "After careful investigation into the state of the mission, the Visitor found that the Fathers were living in the exact observance of the Rule, as far as prevailing circumstances allowed, and that they were labouring for the salvation of souls with unwearied ardour. He encouraged them by fervent exhortations to continue their efforts bravely for the greater glory of God and the salvation of their neighbour."

The Visitation being ended, Father Bernard personally reported on it at Dôle in France, where the General was staying. A heavy cross awaited him on his return to Paris. His brother, Baron de Vaillac, had been obliged to seek refuge in the Dutch army to escape punishment for having fought a duel. But during the siege of Breda by the Spaniards (August 1624 till 2nd June 1625), a quarrel arose between him and another gentleman of very high rank: a challenge followed, and another duel was fought before the eyes of the two armies, with the result that the unfortunate Baron remained dead on the field. This tragic event having been communicated to Father Bernard while his thoughts were still full of the religious

persecution he had witnessed in England, he exclaimed: "Would that my brother had expired at the hands of the common hangman!" He who for himself, says the annalist, sought the only true glory and utterly despised the false maxims of this world, bewailed far more the terrible fate of the soul than the most infamous death of the body.

One of the results of the Visitation was the arrival of two more missioners, one of whom, Father Bede, brought with him letters-patent as Vicar-Provincial in succession to Father Eliseus. The latter remained at Eltham until 1636, doing much good in a limited sphere of action. It appears that from time to time he went to live in London, for we learn from a letter, dated 19th February 1626, that he was obliged to change his lodging on account of the persecution.

The first of his own letters that has come down to us is dated 17th August 1633 (N.S.). In it he asks to be relieved of the office of Vicar-Provincial, which he had held ever since his arrival in England, with a short interruption in 1625–6. He complains of being too much enfeebled by suffering to fulfil duties for which others are more suited than himself. We may add that his prolonged residence in a country district was by no means favourable to a prompt discharge of business, though he was much aided by Father Edmund, who lived at Whitefriars in London, but who was so much harassed by the Puritans that he could not count upon a long enjoyment of liberty. Father Eliseus in his letter gives an account of all the missioners,

and finally says that "there are so many priests in this country that it is very difficult to find Catholics to support and shelter them.[1] The persecution is no longer so fierce as it was last year, the King exempting the Catholics from the Penal Laws in consideration of a yearly tribute. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Abbot, a cruel persecutor, died only three days since, and is succeeded by the Bishop of London (Laud), a moderate man and enemy of the Puritans." Then follows political news, concerning the coronation of Charles I. in Edinburgh (18th June), and his repugnance to religious persecution and new Penal Laws as only serving to harass his subjects, and displease the foreign powers. Lastly, he touches upon the question of the jurisdiction of Bishop Smith, Titular of Chalcedon, over Regulars. The Pope is said to have appointed four bishops, but Father Eliseus considers any settlement of the matter as of small import in view of the probable outbreak of persecution.

The next letter is dated 16th December 1633. After the usual account of all the missionaries and the latest reports concerning the English bishops to be nominated in Rome, he thus alludes to the execution of Father Arthur MacGeoghegan, a Dominican friar:[2] "These last days the persecution of the Catholics has become more fierce on account of an

[1] Gee in his "Foot out of the Snare" gives the names and addresses of 264 priests living in London in 1623. Allowance must be made, however, for omissions and confusion of real and assumed names.

[2] See the article "Some of our Martyrs," by Rev. Father Reginald Walsh, O.P., in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, October 1894.

Irish priest of St. Dominic's Order, who was put to death last week (27th November, O.S.) by public authority, being accused by two witnesses of having said, when in Spain, that he was going to England to murder the King. He constantly denied the truth of this accusation. As it is likely that you [the General to whom the letter was addressed] have received divers accounts of the facts, I deem it my duty to tell you what really took place, as I have made diligent inquiries while in London.

"This Father was conventual in Lisbon. One day an English ship having arrived, he went on board,[1] and entered into conversation with the master; they came to speak upon religious subjects, and also touched upon the question of Free Will, which the captain denied. The priest defended its existence by saying that if man had no free will he would not be responsible for murder or any other crime, or words to that effect. The sailors were standing round the disputants listening to what was said. Now, it so happened that some months later the Dominican came to England, and being in London he one day met the captain in the street and recognised him.[2] The latter did not at first know

[1] An English ship which had captured a Dutch vessel came up the Tagus with its prize. The latter was declared forfeit to the Spanish Treasury in consequence of the treaties then existing between Spain and England. The English sailors were cast into prison for violation of the treaty, but Father Arthur MacGeoghegan, who at that time held a post of confidence under the Duke de Maqueda, obtained their release—a work of charity for which he was hanged in England.

[2] What really took place was this. The captain and crew were set free in Lisbon, on condition they delivered the next prize into

him, owing to his change of dress. Nothing else passed between them; but the captain told the crew of the ship he had met such a one in London, and two of them went before the magistrate to accuse the Father (the captain himself did not accuse him) of having said he was coming over to England to kill the King. The Father was apprehended by the officials and cast into prison, where he remained for several weeks. The King had given an express order to the judges not to do him any harm on account of his religion. He was sentenced to death on 25th November, and executed (*i.e.* dragged on a hurdle from the Marshalsea to Tyburn, hanged, drawn, and quartered) on the 27th. When he arrived at the place of execution he loudly

Spanish hands, for at that time Portugal was under Spanish rule. When Father MacGeoghegan came to England he met the captain, whose name was Bust, and reminded him of this condition, for he himself was responsible to the Spanish Lord High Admiral, the Duke de Maqueda, whom he had persuaded to liberate the English crew. The captain, being evidently unwilling to keep his promise, asked for the address of the priest, which the latter readily gave. The King being in Scotland, two merchants, Wheeler and Essing, to whom the captain confided the matter, and who themselves owed the safety of their property to Father MacGeoghegan, gave information to Lord Coventry, Keeper of the Great Seal, and his colleagues in the Government. The trial took more than three months, during which the Dominican was imprisoned in Newgate. The proceedings were kept secret, but enough transpired to put all the foreign ambassadors on the alert, and they kept their Governments well informed. At the public trial the captain deposed that he himself had not heard the priest make use of the alleged words, but was told he had uttered them by the two merchants. The latter, who are proved not even to have been on board ship when the conversation took place (September 1631, two years previously), swore that he had asserted it would be no sin to kill Charles I., and that he himself would do it if he had the opportunity.

protested his innocence; declared that he had never said such a thing or even thought it; he prayed with such fervour for the King and Queen, and especially showed so much charity in praying for his accusers, that the spectators began to murmur, saying that he was innocent indeed, and at present every one is of that opinion. For this reason his head and limbs were not spiked at the gate of the city as is customary. The King is greatly dissatisfied with the ministers and the judges. The question remains at present at this point, but rumours are circulating in every quarter."

On the 22nd of March 1634 Father Eliseus writes again (two other letters having been lost): "All the Fathers are well, but scattered over the country; even Father Edmund will soon have to leave London, where he is too well known. Otherwise the persecution is no longer so rigorous, thanks to the opposition of the bishops to Puritanism, and thanks also to the power the Queen enjoys with the King." On 4th May the Vicar-Provincial is able to confirm his last letter in every point. He adds that the Queen lately wrote to His Holiness recommending the Beatification of Mother Ann of St. Bartholomew,[1] a companion of St. Theresa, and foundress of several Carmelite convents in France and Belgium. She

[1] Born in 1549 or 1550, she entered the Carmelite Order in 1568, and was during fourteen years the constant companion of St. Theresa, who speaks of her in the "Book of Foundations," chap. xxix. n. 9. Sent to France in 1604 as one of the foundresses of the French Carmel, she was raised to the rank of choir-sister, having been hitherto a lay-sister. She went to Belgium in 1611, and died at Antwerp in the odour of sanctity on 7th June 1626.

(the Queen) had a particular devotion to the Order, "as she told me [Father Eliseus] only the other day. She also obtained protection for Father Edmund, who is still in London, but in great danger." Then follows a note on the work *Deus, Natura et Gratia*, by a Franciscan Monk, Abraham a Sta. Clara (Christopher Davenport), the first to seek points of contact between Catholic and Protestant doctrine: "We do not know yet whether the book will be welcome to the English public, and whether it will pass the Roman censors. While some people are favourably disposed towards the attempt, others, principally the Puritans, repudiate all connection with the Catholic Church." As a matter of fact the work was placed on the Spanish Index, but not on the Roman. The King, as well as Laud, held it in admiration.

This is the last of Father Eliseus's letters for many years. But before leaving Eltham, and resigning his office of Vicar-Provincial, he had to give, for the second time, an account of the state and progress of the mission. Father Onuphrius of St. James[1] had been appointed Visitor-General of

[1] Born at St. Omer about 1600, he made his Profession at Brussels, where he also was Sub-prior in 1631 until the autumn of the following year, whence he was sent to Rome with Fathers Philip of St. James and Ambrose of St. Arsenius, and thence to Mount Carmel, recently restored to the Order, which derives its name from that sacred mount. They arrived at Alexandrette on 5th November 1633, and at the beginning of the following year on Carmel, where they re-established the Religious life after an interruption of three centuries and a half. Father Ambrose died there on 1st August 1634, while Father Onuphrius returned to Europe about the same time. Towards the end of the year we find him in Ireland,

the Irish and English missions by the General of the Order, Father Paul Simon. He first proceeded to Ireland, whence he came to London on New Year's Day 1635. No one could be in a better position to form a correct judgment of the two missions than this Religious, who, being a native of St. Omer, had been from childhood in personal contact with numerous English Catholics, students, priests and noblemen, and must necessarily have been well informed of the difficulties and dangers to which the missioners were exposed. So great was the confidence in his prudence that they twice selected him as their representative at the General Chapter.

The following is an interesting extract from the official report forwarded to Rome by Father Onuphrius:—

"The Discalced Carmelites have now been established in England for twenty-two years, during which time they have had the opportunity of doing much good to their fellow-countrymen. Some of the missioners are stationed at the Catholic Embassies, while others live in private houses. The former keep strictly to the Rule of the Order with regard to abstinence from meat and the hours of

and soon after in London. At the General Chapters of 1635 and 1638 he represented the Irish and English Fathers. In 1640 he was elected Prior of Tournay, and in 1643 Prior of Namur. In 1647 he came to London for the second, and in 1655 for the third time, being then Prior of St. Omer. At the expiration of the last-named office in 1658 he was transferred to Tournay, probably as Sub-prior, since his name appears second on a deed of that monastery dated 16th April 1658. The date of his death is unknown, but must be placed between 1658 and 1665.

prayer, and when exercising the sacred functions at their chapels they generally wear the religious habit, to the great edification of Protestants as well as Catholics. The latter, being unable to fulfil their duties in public, administer the Sacraments to those who come to see them in their lodgings, or to poor Catholics whom they meet in their wanderings through towns and villages. Numerous are the souls won for God by both classes of priests. Some of the Fathers continued their monastic observances even in prison, preaching the Gospel and administering the Sacraments to their visitors as well as to their fellow-prisoners."

A report on the present state of the Catholic Church in England (*ca.* 1635), now in the possession of the "Old Chapter," contains the following passage concerning the Carmelite Mission: "The Carmelite Fathers, eight in number, have but recently arrived; they have not yet been exposed to great danger, nor are they scared. They are wholly angelical, and the model of all Religious."

The visitor, who was accompanied by Father Anthony Dogherty,[1] the Delegate from the Irish Province, left London at the end of January 1635, and arrived in Rome in time for the General Chapter, to which he rendered an account of the two countries. The result was that the new General despatched two more priests to England, Fathers Anselm and Bede, the latter of whom had filled various offices during the ten years he had spent in Flanders after his first experiences of the missionary life. He came again

[1] "Carmel in Ireland," by Father Patrick of St. Joseph, p. 237.

with the title of Vicar-Provincial, and received a most cordial welcome.

Relieved of his office, Father Eliseus continued his labours for some time in or near London. But being well known to many people he was frequently compelled to hide himself. One day, while the house was being searched by priest-hunters, he was concealed in a niche between two walls. At other times he had to seek refuge in the hills and forests. But fortunately he found a secure asylum at the house of the Queen's confessor, a fellow-countryman and former fellow-student of his own. He was frequently received by the Queen herself, and on one of these occasions invested her with the Brown Scapular. In return she gave him a written assurance of her protection, nominating him to a post in her household. However, rightly suspecting that in case of apprehension Henrietta's letter would be but of little avail, he left London for Exeter (1637), where he remained several months in the house of a Catholic. Notwithstanding the size of the town there were but few Catholics there, and only one house where he could offer up the holy sacrifice.

How long he remained there, or what other places in the south-west of England he visited, is not known, but he endeavoured to return to London in 1640. On the way, not far from Wells, in Somerset, he was seized with fever, and sought a refuge with one of his brethren in religion, Father John Baptist, who was labouring with great success in the ancient cathedral town. As it would have been too dangerous for the two priests to remain together, Father

Eliseus found shelter in a farmhouse. The farmer himself was a Protestant, but some of his neighbours were Catholics; and besides many other services they even provided him with the requisites for Mass.

After recovery, Father Eliseus continued his journey to London, only to be delivered up to the officials by a false friend. However, he was set free through the intercession of some powerful protector, though not without having been despoiled of his goods on four or five occasions. This seems to have taken place in 1641, in which year his name is mentioned in such a way as to leave no doubt of his presence in town. The next time we meet with it, (19th March and 6th November 1646), Fathers Eliseus and John Baptist are labouring together in Somerset.

Almost at the end of his missionary career Father Eliseus was destined to suffer a terrible trial. Charles I., before his imprisonment on the Isle of Wight (1647–48), had sought to come to an understanding with Parliament and the General of the parliamentary forces, Sir Thomas Fairfax, regarding the free exercise of religion. Although Catholics were not to enjoy unrestrained liberty, Fairfax wished at least to ascertain the feelings of both clergy and laity. He submitted to their consideration three propositions relating to the spiritual and temporal authority of Pope and King. They were couched in general terms, and being open to orthodox interpretation were subscribed to by a number of Catholic laymen, and also by some priests. The list of signatures was forwarded to the Nuncio at Paris, and by him to the Pope, who, however, did not approve of

the propositions. Father Eliseus had been present at the meeting of the representatives of clergy and laity, and had given his adherence, as every one else had done. "When these propositions were presented to me the first time," he writes, "I was told that the Holy See had already been informed of their import. And so I subscribed to them in the sense explained [*i.e.* that they were not articles of Faith]. Having been invited, I could not decline to be present, as the meeting was likely to contribute much to the welfare of the Catholic religion and the consolation of the Faithful at a time of such fierce persecution." There can be no doubt as to the perfect good faith of all the subscribers, but they allowed themselves to be caught in a snare which had been frequently laid for Catholics.

Father Eliseus's name on the famous paper was no small surprise to the Superiors of the Order, who at once bade him explain himself before the Provincial of Flanders. Availing himself of the first opportunity, in spite of dangers, weakness, even illness, he arrived at Antwerp on 22nd June 1648, and sent an explanation to the Papal internuncio at Brussels, Monsignor di Bichi, Abbot of St. Anastasia, which fully proved his perfect good faith and deep humility. In May of the following year he returned to England, having fulfilled a painful duty, and entirely broken down in health.

He resumed his missionary labours with unabated zeal as chaplain to Lady Copley at Gratton in Surrey. On Easter Sunday (17th April 1650) he was laid up with a malady which caused him the most acute

pain, which he bore with great patience, after his Divine Master's example, repeating the text: "I reckon that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come that shall be revealed in us"; thus meditating on the bliss of heaven, he endured joyfully excruciating agonies. Fever soon added its torments and wasted his little remaining strength. He received the last Sacraments with great piety, and slept in the Lord on 28th May 1650. The chronicle of the mission from which we gather these details thus concludes: "He was a truly pious man, much given to prayer and mortification, of exemplary life and holy conversation, practising the regular observance with the utmost exactitude, and persevering until death in the fervour he had acquired on his first entrance into the Order. He gave many examples of virtue, and departed this life renowned for good works. Though for many years afflicted by infirmities, he was full of solicitude for the salvation of his neighbour, refuting heresy both by word of mouth and in writing, and leading many wanderers back to the Church. Always ready to perform any work of charity, he unceasingly visited poor Catholics, willingly heard their confessions, instructed and advised them, and in every way encouraged them in the pursuit of virtue. To such holy labours he devoted his entire life."

He wrote three books: (1) One in Latin, containing "Meditations on the Lord's Prayer," with a dedication to his first patron, Lord Teynham. (2) Another in English, on "The Sacrifice of the Mass,

as proved by the Modern Laws of England." These two works were printed at Antwerp. (3) A third, also in English, entitled, "Admonitions to his Scotch Condisciples at the University of Paris." Although this last work received the necessary approbations it was never carried through the press. Besides these works he also wrote the lives of some of the early British saints whom he claims for the Order.[1]

[1] Father Eliseus was not the first Discalced Carmelite of Scotch nationality. David Rutherford of St. Andrews, born about 1585, of Protestant parents (Thomas Rutherford and Jane Inglis), entered the novitiate of La Scala in 1608, assuming the name of Brother Gregory Nazianzen of All Saints. He died in Rome on the 26th of March 1611, before having taken holy orders.

CHAPTER III

FATHER EDMUND OF ST. MARTIN (EDMUND STANFORD)

Birth and education—The Carmelite novice—The High Church movement in England—Dangerous times—Death of the missioner.

FATHER EDMUND of St. Martin, as he invariably signs his letters, or "of the Purification," as he is called in other sources, was a native of Salford Abbots, co. Warwick. His parents, Charles Stanford, Esq., second son of Sir Robert Stanford, and Eleanor, daughter of John Alderford, were good Catholics, who brought up their son in the fear of God and the practice of virtue and good works. Edmund showed remarkable gifts, and being destined for one of the learned professions, applied himself to the study of jurisprudence. After some time spent in London in this pursuit, he began to aspire to a still higher profession, crossed the Channel, and entered the Carmelite monastery at Brussels. During the year of probation he gave entire satisfaction to his Superiors, by his piety and promptitude in the fulfilment of all the duties of Religious life, and the earnestness he displayed in the practice of self-denial and mortification. Having taken his

vows, he applied himself to the study of philosophy and theology, in which he was remarkably successful.

In 1621 he received orders to return to England as a missionary. There are few records extant concerning his labours; enough, however, to justify the praise bestowed on him by the chronicler on the occasion of his death.

It appears that he remained in London until the beginning of 1626, living at least during part of this time in the same house as Father Simon Stock. But a revival of the persecution compelled him to seek a shelter elsewhere, and in April of the same year he is "far away from town," and asks to be excused from reporting himself to the Superiors, it being too difficult for him to despatch letters to Rome.

We now lose sight of him until 26th July 1633, when he writes a letter "for Father Generall," whom he congratulates on the occasion of his re-election. His brother missionaries, he says, are unwearyingly toiling for the good of souls. "The persecution has now somewhat abated, thanks be to God, and it may be hoped that it will continue so. Our King shows much piety, and his private life is free from reproach. He adheres to his father's traditions, but is somewhat inconsistent. The Communion-tables in the churches are going out of fashion, and are gradually replaced by altars with hangings and candlesticks, but the candles may not be lighted. In the chapels of students (*i.e.* the college chapels at Oxford), Divine Office is chanted

in Latin, and I am told crucifixes are to be introduced and placed on the altars. Thus faith begins to revive, and we may look forward to greater progress." On 13th September Father Edmund records the death of Archbishop Abbott, "our greatest adversary," and the accession of Laud, "a most moderate man, and by no means opposed to the Catholic faith."

We have no other letters of this Religious, but as the Vicar-Provincial frequently alludes to him, we are able to supplement these scanty notices. "He lives in town, and being an excellent priest, is a great help to me. His friends are anxious for him to go and stay with them in the country, and assuredly he would do much good anywhere, but it is necessary he should remain in London, in spite of imminent danger. The officials having noticed him, he has to hide himself during the day, and only goes out at night-time. No one could do what he does in London, except, perhaps, Father Bede, who is still in Flanders" (11th December 1633). On 12th March of the following year the state of things remained still unchanged, but at least the Queen's protection had been obtained for this Father, who had to transact all the business of the Vicar-Provincial, the latter being too far from town.

Thus Father Edmund was in the full exercise of his priestly functions when suddenly he was seized with fever while assisting at a sermon on Easter day, 1635. The illness made rapid progress. "During the whole time of his suffering," writes the chronicler, "he showed rare modesty, unruffled patience,

and perfect resignation. He received the last Sacraments with true devotion, and on the tenth day of his malady, 10th April 1635, rendered his soul to God. His death took place on the same spot where our ancient monastery stood, which was suppressed by Henry VIII." (*i.e.* Whitefriars). The same document adds the following words, which to some extent will compensate for the scarcity of other notices on Father Edmund's life and labours: "He was a man of prayer and remarkable for his modesty, so that one had only to look at him in order to become animated with pious feelings. Wherever he went he spread a precious seed of virtue, and edified every one by his conversation as well as by his example."

CHAPTER IV

FATHER BEDE OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT (JOHN HICCOCKS)

Conversion of a bigoted Puritan—The missionary college—A Papal Brief—The plague—Dissension among Catholics—Projected mission to Nova Scotia—Persecution of Catholics in London—Imprisonment—Daily life in prison—Apprehensions—Search for forbidden goods—Holy Week in prison—Liberty—In a Dutch prison—Back in London—Holy death of the missioner.

JOHN HICCOCKS was born in London about 1588. His parents, Thomas Hiccocks and Elizabeth Pridie, were Protestants, and he himself was brought up in the Calvinistic persuasion and in deep hatred of the Catholic Church. Having noticed in the corner of some square in London a statue of the Blessed Virgin, he one night engaged a workingman to daub it with lime and mortar. His father was a merchant and shipowner, and when John was old enough he joined him in business. One day when on board ship a fellow-traveller, a man of rank, was discovered to be a Catholic. No sooner had John heard this than he assaulted the unfortunate man, and would have thrown him overboard but for the intervention of the captain. Years passed by, and the same nobleman, happening

to be in Brussels, entered the Carmelite church and went into a confessional. What was his surprise when he recognised in his ghostly Father the former bigoted Protestant who had failed to make a martyr of him. We shall see how this Saul became a vessel of election "to carry the name of the Lord before unbelievers, and how the Lord showed him what great things he must suffer for His Name's sake."

Business led him into the East, where he spent five years, and for some unknown reason was made prisoner at Constantinople, "as it sometimes happens to travellers," he says. He also made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land and visited Mount Carmel. It would, however, be a mistake to think that he found there any members of the Order which derives its name from it. Lost in 1291, the sacred mountain was only regained in 1631.

On his return to London, John Hiccocks made the acquaintance of Father Simon Stock, who at that time was exercising the Apostolic ministry, having been obliged through ill-health to leave the novitiate in Rome, as we have related in his life. He had not forgotten, however, the peace and happiness he had enjoyed at La Scala, and noticing in his convert signs of a religious vocation, advised him to apply for reception to the newly founded monastery at Brussels. He himself followed his young friend to the same place, and soon became his fellow-novice.

The founder and Prior of this monastery was a very remarkable man, the Ven. Father Thomas

of Jesus, born in 1564 at Baeza in Andalusia. While studying Canon Law at Salamanca he felt himself called to the Religious life, and entered the Carmelite novitiate at Valladolid. He it was who established the first Hermitage or "Desert" at Bolarque, as we shall see in the life of Father Elias. Having filled many high offices in Spain, he was called to Italy by the Pope, to take part in a missionary expedition to Abyssinia or to the Congo. Although unforeseen circumstances frustrated this undertaking, Father Thomas rendered a lasting service to the Catholic Missions by suggesting to the Pope the creation of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, and laying down in his writings the rules by which missions should be conducted.

The Archduke Albert of Austria and his consort, the Infanta Isabella of Spain, having applied in Rome for a colony of Discalced Carmelites, the Pope appointed Father Thomas Superior of their monastery at Brussels. So successful was he as organiser that in the course of twelve years he was able to erect as many as ten monasteries and six convents of nuns, which eventually were united into a Province under one Provincial. At the General Chapter of 1623 Father Thomas was nominated Definitor-General, and as such took up his residence in Rome, where he died on 24th May 1627. His numerous writings, principally on Mystical Theology, were collected by command of Urban VIII. and published in two folio volumes.

Being an ardent supporter of missions, Father

Thomas willingly opened his novitiate to postulants from England, Ireland and Holland, hoping that in course of time they would spread the Faith in their native countries. Nor was this all. Knowing that the ordinary course of studies, however excellent in itself, would not be sufficient for those who would have to spend much time in controversy with Protestant divines, he founded a missionary seminary in the old university town of Louvain for the benefit of English, Irish and Dutch Carmelites. The foundation took place on the 19th of March 1621, and was gladly welcomed by the Superiors-General, who were anxious to support the Carmelite Missions in Protestant Europe, no less than those in Persia and India. John Hiccocks, who had taken the habit in the summer of 1612, and made his profession on 15th August of the following year, assuming at the same time the name of Bede of the Blessed Sacrament, was nominated Superior of the seminary. A manuscript chronicle thus speaks of his labours: "Community life was begun under the guidance of Father Bede, an Englishman, devoted to his calling, and zealous for the conversion of those who were brought up in error, especially his fellow-countrymen. He inspired his hearers by word and example, preparing them for the work to which their lives were to be consecrated." The course of study at the seminary of Louvain embraced Philosophy, Moral Theology, Holy Scripture, Controversy and Hebrew.

After some months Father Bede resigned his office of Superior in favour of Father Patrick of St. James (Bricklane), an Irishman, and devoted himself

entirely to that of lecturer, until, in 1624, he was called to Brussels as Sub-prior, which position he held till the spring of the following year. In the meantime it had been decided to send more missioners to London, and the choice fell upon Fathers Bede and Elias. If they were filled with joy on receipt of their letters-patent, they were still more so when a Papal Brief was handed to them, encouraging them in their pious enterprise, and bestowing on them the Apostolical blessing. The following is the translation of the Brief[1]:—

Pope Urban VIII.

"Beloved sons, health and Apostolical benediction. The shadow of death and the darkness of sin are hovering over the land to which you are sailing.

[1] Urbanus, P.P. VIII.

Dilecti filii, salutem et Apostolicam benedictionem. Umbra mortis et caligo peccatorum operit regionem in quam navigatis. Pergitis ad syrtes non ad portum: quos tamen Spiritus Sancti aura provehit, ii tutam in ipso naufragio reperire possunt stationem. Moveatur mare et plenitudo ejus, et furant procellarum minæ, Dominus graditur super undas et in turbine aliquando delitescit. Quare nulla vos periculorum facies deterreat, dilecti filii, quos ad cœleste Regnum propagandum omnipotens dextera deducit armatura lucis munitos, et in conspectu potentium admirabiles. Comitantur vos legiones cœlestis exercitus, Dominus scientiarum sufficiet vobis verba, quæ loquamini, igneis linguis ora vestra Spiritus Sanctus armabit, quæ plus valuerunt ad subjugandas nationes quam sagittæ potentium acutæ cum carbonibus desolatoriis. Cupimus equidem converti procellas omnes in auras, atque id solatium vobis ab eo flagitabimus qui dominatur potestati maris. Quid tamen si consistant adversus milites Christi castra impiorum, et omnes cala-

You are bound, not for a haven, but for perilous shoals. Yet they who are moved by the Holy Spirit are able to find a safe anchorage in the midst of shipwreck. Let the waves roll high, and the gales rage, the Lord walketh on the sea, yea, he sometimes lies hidden in the midst of a whirlwind. No prospect of danger ought therefore to frighten you, beloved sons, whom the right hand of the Almighty leads to the propagation of His kingdom: clad in the armour of light, you are admirable in the sight of the Mighty of the earth. Legions of Heavenly hosts are your company, the Lord of Wisdom will suggest you the words which you should utter, the Holy Ghost will give you fiery tongues more efficacious for the subjecting of nations than the sharp arrows of the mighty, with coals that lay waste. We, indeed, desire that all storms be changed into a gentle breeze, and We implore Him Who commands the violence of the sea to grant you this consolation. But what, if the armies of the ungodly

mitatum fluctus inducantur super vos? Mementote quod dignitatis genus sit contumeliam pati pro nomine Jesu, quæ triumphi species pro Religionis propagatione mortem occumbere. Pretiosa mors quæ mortalitatis miserias cum sempiternæ vitæ beatitudine commutat! Tanti facimus fortitudinem vestram, ut vos periculorum commemoratione incitari non deterreri arbitramur. Ite ergo propagatores fidei, et domitores hæresum, patefactæ cœli fores spectanti Deo et plaudentibus angelis vestram virtutem ostendunt. Nos autem vos Pontificio patrocinio et Apostolica benedictione munimus. Cæterum quæ vobis privilegia et beneficia concedamus ex diplomate nostro et Præsulum vestrorum litteris cognoscetis.

Datum Romæ apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die xi. Maji MDCXXIV. Pontificatus nostri Anno Primo.

(Sig.) Joannes Ciampolus. The endorsement is: Dilectis filiis religiosis viris Carmelitanis Discalceatis in Angliam proficiscentibus.

rise up against the soldiers of Christ, and all the billows of adversity sweep over you? Remember the happiness of suffering contumely for the Name of Jesus, what a triumph it is to suffer death for the propagation of the Faith! Oh, precious Death, which exchanges the miseries of a mortal existence for the bliss of eternal life! So highly do we think of your fortitude, that we are convinced that the foreknowledge of dangers does not deter you, but rather encourages you. Go, then, Propagators of the Faith, and destroyers of heresies; the gates of Heaven are open to show your virtue to God, and to let the angels applaud you. And We also will strengthen you with Our Pontifical patronage and the Apostolical Benediction. As to the privileges and favours We bestow upon you, Our document and the letters of your Superiors will inform you of their extent.

"Given in Rome at St. Peter's, under the ring of the Fisherman, on 11th May 1624, in the first year of Our Pontificate."

Signed "Joannes Ciampolus," and endorsed "To Our beloved Sons and Religious, the Barefooted Carmelites who are about to set out for England."

Their arrival in London took place in the summer 1625. On 29th August of that year Father Bede writes for the first time from England. The proclamation of Charles I. calling back all English subjects studying in seminaries abroad having come to his knowledge, he hastened to acquaint his Superiors with it. But before we turn to the events

which brought about an unexpected change in Father Bede's missionary career we must give a brief summary of his letters.

Father Bede arrived in London with the title of Vicar-Provincial, in succession to Father Eliseus; but, unlike the latter, he took his abode from the beginning in the city itself, moving from one house to another to elude the watchfulness of the Puritans. Soon after his arrival London was visited by a terrible outbreak of the plague. Shrinking from no peril, refusing no labour, and never allowing an opportunity to pass of helping poor stricken Catholics, he spent his time in visiting the sick, whose confessions he heard and whom he strengthened with the last sacraments. It is recorded that he possessed a remarkable gift of comforting the dying. Hence his ministry, particularly among the poorer classes, was both extensive and fruitful. One great drawback resulted from the fact of the richer Catholics having left town for healthier places, the funds at his disposal scarcely sufficed to supply for the most urgent wants. "But," says his biographer, "placing his trust in Him who does not confound them that hope in Him, he overcame all difficulties." The daily death-rate having reached a climax in October 1625, namely eight hundred, the tax upon a priest's strength and resources was very considerable.

A further drawback was the question of jurisdiction. After the death of Queen Mary (1558), the Catholic hierarchy of England ceased to exist. Instead of bishops the Pope appointed archpriests

with extensive faculties. But Gregory XV., desirous of assisting English Catholics in every possible way, elected a Vicar-Apostolic, in the person of William Bishop, Titular of Chalcedon, who died less than a year after his consecration (April 1624), and was succeeded by Richard Smith, who likewise accepted the See of Chalcedon. This prelate was under the impression that the faculties of Religious for hearing confessions and administering the other sacraments had expired at the death of his predecessor, and should be renewed, either by the authorities in Rome or by himself, subject to a previous examination in moral theology, a difficult task, seeing that the Vicar-Apostolic himself was frequently obliged to change his residence or hide himself for fear of apprehension. Naturally the Religious of all Orders keenly felt their position, all the more as they had received faculties without restriction of any kind, and the prevailing epidemic rendered their ministry doubly necessary. We need not enter into particulars concerning this unhappy dispute. The Bishop left England in consequence of the royal proclamations issued against him in December 1628 and March 1629, and did not return. But, in 1625, when Father Bede was in the full exercise of his pastoral duties, the situation was critical. A large number of the clergy were condemned to inaction just when their services were most necessary. "There is a Religious here," writes Father Bede, "who finds himself in the greatest straits on account of the want of faculties for this country. This having come to the knowledge of laymen, he has suffered

so much in his reputation that they themselves have asked me to assist him to leave the kingdom. I have at present three persons under instruction, but cannot receive them into the Church until I have obtained fresh faculties. May it please Almighty God that the work done hitherto, by my companion and myself, may at least be valid." New faculties were despatched from Rome in January 1626; they arrived in London the following month, but were less extensive than the previous privileges. This, however, could not be helped, because some faculties, formerly granted, were no longer necessary owing to the presence of a bishop, as the permission given to simple priests to consecrate chalices and patens. Others were restored later on, as that of saying Mass in presence of Protestants. It often happened, as we learn from the correspondence on the subject, that persons about to be received into the Church were eager to assist at the Holy Sacrifice for some time previous to their conversion, and priests were desirous, and rightly so, of being allowed to use their own discretion in admitting them. "It is certain," says Father Bede, "that Protestants have not done so much harm to the Catholic Church as the Catholics themselves. I have heard that a great politician, of this kingdom, used to boast that he had wrought more mischief among the Catholic party by fomenting discord than in any other way. And another trustworthy person told me that England would already be Catholic but for the cockle sown by the fiend."

We may here mention the project formed, about

this time, of founding a Carmelite Mission in Nova Scotia. Although it led to no result so far as this Order is concerned, readers of the "Records of the Society of Jesus"[1] will remember the interesting account of Father White's expedition to the New World. The facts are as follows:—

George Calvert, Secretary of State to James I., created Baron Baltimore in 1624, had formed the project of establishing a settlement in Newfoundland. He obtained from the King a patent constituting him absolute lord and proprietor of a territory to which he gave the name of Avalon, desiring that the first Catholic colony in Newfoundland should bear the same name as the spot in England where Christianity was first preached, Avalon being the ancient name of Glastonbury. On the death of James I. he resolved to repair to his colony, taking some priests with him; his acquaintance with Father Simon Stock led him to count upon the services of the Carmelite Fathers. The English had begun to settle in Newfoundland in 1603, and up to 1625—the date of the documents from which we quote—they founded three colonies, one of fifty, one of twenty-five, and one of fifteen families. This last-named settlement was offered to the Carmelites by two rich Catholics (Lord Baltimore and Edward Wynne?) as their future field of labour. The only Catholics residing there, permanently, were the agents of the owners, who superintended the trade in furs and in connection with the cod fisheries. The remaining colonists were Protestants, and had ministers

[1] Foley, *l.c.*, vol. iii. p. 324.

of their own persuasion, who, in addition to their pastoral duties, made efforts to win over the natives to their creed. Such being the prospect of the mission, it is not to be wondered at that none of the English Carmelites were much in favour of the undertaking, especially at a time when they were not numerous enough for their own work at home. Father Bede writes (May 1626) that in his opinion the only attraction it offered was a martyr's crown. Nevertheless he, as well as all the others, repeatedly declared himself ready to go at the first indication of his Superiors' consent. The Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, to which the matter had been submitted, granted all the permissions required (Decree of 6th December 1626), but when these arrived in England the execution of the project had already become impossible through the banishment of two out of five missionaries, while the remaining three could not have left England without causing the English Mission to be entirely abandoned. Lord Baltimore, however, being unsuccessful in his undertaking, gave up Avalon, and obtained in its stead a territory in Maryland, where his son and heir, Lord Cecil Baltimore, founded a large and prosperous colony. The Carmelites being unable to supply it with priests, he applied to the Jesuits, five of whom sailed with him from Cowes on 22nd November 1633. The English Carmelite nuns, driven from Hooghstraeten in 1790, possess at present a flourishing convent in Baltimore.

To return to the life of Father Bede. Parliament adjourned in summer 1625, being unable to come to

an agreement concerning the finances of the King. No sooner had the members reached their respective homes than Charles I. issued a proclamation to all his subjects in foreign seminaries calling them back to England, at the same time enforcing the laws against Jesuits and Papist priests. We shall soon see the effects of this step.

News from London was eagerly expected, not by politicians alone, but also by the heads of Religious Orders. Father Bede received instructions from Rome to write at least once a week, his letters being forwarded with the despatches of the Spanish Ambassador as long as it was safe to do so; but, upon the opening of hostilities between the crowns of England and Spain, the Venetian Ambassador undertook this work of charity.

On 10th October (N.S.) the term fixed for Catholic priests to quit the country expired, but even the few who, for one reason or another, desired to comply with the order were unable to do so, all ports being closed on account of the preparations for war. The political questions were as perplexing as possible. "M." (afterwards Cardinal) "de Bérulle has been treating with the Duke of Buckingham," says Father Bede, "on certain questions, and the Duke told him to his face he knew nothing about business and had better mind his breviary. M. de Bérulle was offended and returned to France." A Capuchin was taken prisoner some fifty miles, and a Franciscan some ten miles from London, and a warrant was expected for the arrest of four priests known to have assisted the plague-stricken.

The danger soon came nearer home. "Last Sunday night," writes Father Bede on 12th October 1625 (N.S.), "an official searched the house where I was lodging; but the" (one word effaced, probably magistrate) "who was to assist him refused to enter, saying, as was indeed true, that only a short time previously some one died there of the plague; the other swore he would compel him to enter the following night. Consequently I was forced to remove to another lodging and heard no more of them. It is not yet known whether the English fleet has left port, but at all events eight or nine ships, belonging to Hamburgh and other ports, have been captured off Denmark, though war is not declared. A French ambassador has arrived to arrange about the marriage of the King; and the Duke of Buckingham has been summoned from Plymouth for the same purpose, and is now on his way to Holland to interview the King's sister, who is married to the Count Palatine. May it please God to grant a long life to the King, for if his sister were to succeed him the Puritans would have it all their own way, and this would surely lead to complete suppression of the Catholic religion." These apprehensions were but too well founded, as the sequel will show.

The letter just quoted was signed *Gio. Bta. Grimani*, probably the name of a secretary at the Venetian Embassy, to ensure safe delivery. The next, which opens an eventful period in Father Bede's life, is dated: "From New Prison in London, January 6, 1626," and signed, "Father Beda."

"Here in our little prison cell I pass my time

according to our Rule, yet not without occupying myself much with poor Catholics who come to visit me, and to whom I dispense the sacraments, though cautiously, for fear of the gaolers, who allow no one to enter the prison on Sundays and Feasts during the hours of Divine service, and not even always on weekdays. One person has already been received into the Church, praised be the name of God, Amen! The persecution is steadily increasing, and some people conform to the law of the land by frequenting Protestant service, suffering thereby the loss of their immortal souls rather than that of their temporal property. May God grant his servants grace, strength, and perseverance, for we live in dangerous times. What hope Catholics derived from the presence of the Ambassador Extraordinary of France has proved vain, though the French seem to think otherwise. There is even a possibility of bloodshed. Should such a thing happen, may I ask you to recommend me to Our Lord, that I may receive all the needful grace, because I am told I shall be one of the first to suffer for having freely acknowledged that I am a priest and a Religious, and also on account of certain letters found upon me, wherein I spoke the plain Truth about the persecution, to the annoyance of certain persons in high quarters. —Rev. Father, I 'do not count my life more precious than myself'; it is a great consolation for me to think of the impending martyrdom, and my greatest pain is that it is yet so far distant, for when they hold out hopes of reprieve my fervour grows cold. 'It is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of

God that giveth,' and I abandon myself entirely into His hands, knowing that I am not worthy of such an honour as to suffer ever so little for His sake. As you desire to hear how it fares with each one of us, I can only say that they are all well, Fathers Eliseus, Simon, and Edmund. I am unable to say more at present, either about them or this good man *who was made prisoner together with me.*"

Had this letter fallen into unauthorised hands, the last few words would probably have aroused no suspicion, but the Superiors in Rome understood that this "good man" was no other than Father Elias, Father Bede's companion.

January 9, 1626. "Last week I informed you that I had been made prisoner, but having no opportunity of writing more explicitly, could not explain how it came to pass. The persecution growing more and more violent, I dared not, for the last three weeks, carry with me a breviary or any other object which might prove dangerous, but went about disguised as a farmer, encouraging those that were afflicted or terror-stricken by the evils of the times. Thus it was I went to a sick man only just recovering from the plague" (Father Elias), "of whom I have written on other occasions. I remained there on Friday, feast of St. Stephen, to write some letters. Presently the officials appeared and knocked at the door, which was opened to them by a girl of eight or nine years. She knew at once who they were, and threw herself at their feet, imploring them with tears not to send me to prison. I heard the cries of the girl from

the adjoining room, and had only just time to destroy a letter to your Reverence. They entered, arrested me and the sick man, and took possession of some books, and a letter to the Provincial of France, one to the Prior of Lille, another to the Prioress of Ypres and Silvester Pardo;[1] they treated us kindly enough when escorting us to prison, where the governor demanded my parole, and I willingly promised that though he should leave all the gates open day and night I would stay where I was. He then informed me of the terms of that prison, which amounted to twelve Scudi a week, and at that price we took a room with board for the first week. But since then I have found another room, very much like a monastic cell, and somewhat more secluded than the first, and for this I pay only eight Giulii, the lowest price in this prison.[2] It is quite suited for the kind of life prescribed by our Rule, and I pass my time in reading pious books and fulfilling, as far as circumstances allow, all the duties of a Religious, until it shall please Our Lord to dispose of me otherwise; for it is the custom of servants of God to withdraw for a little while from the world, in order to do more good afterwards. I do not venture to write about any one else, in case the letter should be lost. There are four Catholics here, while others are in different prisons, but there is a general belief that our number will shortly increase.

[1] These letters are now at the Record Office.

[2] A Scudo Romano was about four shillings of our money; a Giulio is the twelfth part of a Scudo.

"Friday last, the Octave of St. Stephen, we, that is, the sick man and myself, were taken to the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury, six or seven miles from town, in order to be examined by him. The result of my examination and my voluntary statements was that my name was Father Bede of the most Holy Sacrament, in the world Gio. Icocks (*sic*) of the City of London; that I was a Religious of the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, commonly called the Discalced Carmelites; that I was sent to England by my Superiors; that I was a priest, however unworthy of that honour, and had said Mass whenever able to do so; that I also had written the incriminating letters on the evil intentions of the Government, the persecution of Catholics, and the expedition against Cadiz, which news I had gathered from others. I also had said that our hopes were placed in the French Ambassador, because His Excellency being a Catholic, and representative of a Catholic power, no one was more fit than he to treat of these things with His Majesty, and that Catholics refused to take the oath of allegiance, not because they are disloyal, but on account of its objectionable wording. The Archbishop bade me say that I was not aware of the exact terms of the oath, and in point of fact I have not seen it for above twenty years. He told me that I should have time to think over it, and thus the proceedings came to an end. The examination, which lasted about an hour, took place in presence of between thirty and forty people, among whom were the

Dean of Rochester, and a certain divine called Dr. Gore. All that time I was cheerful, because God mercifully assisted me. The Primate blamed me for it, saying that we were speaking of matters of the greatest importance, whereas I almost seemed to laugh thereat. I replied that I was but too well aware how serious the matter was, and God forbid that I should laugh at his Lordship, but my conscience and heart being upright, I could not help feeling happy. I then was taken to the prison again, where I am leading quite a monastic life with the four Catholics, performing privately many austerities customary in the Order. In fact I intend to fulfil my duties even more conscientiously than hitherto, all the more as everybody knows that I am a Religious. Fathers Simon, Edmund and Eliseus, are doing well, and so are the Catholics in the other prisons. May God grant me strength to bear witness, even with my blood, to the Catholic Faith and the Religious profession to which He has graciously called me."

Father Bede then mentions his *alias*, which was *John Beadle;* letters thus addressed will always find him. "Father Elias's health is improving in spite of so many perils." The Religious names being unknown to the officials, Father Bede apprehended no danger from speaking freely about his fellow-missioners, even if the letters fell into the hands of the prison authorities, as indeed several did fall. The insight we gain into prison life in the seventeenth century is curious. The prisoners paid for board and lodging, and were consequently able to

make themselves more or less comfortable, according to their means, though in many cases the money remained in the hands of the officials. They were allowed to see friends, whose gifts they might accept, whether money, books, paper, or household requisites. They remained in their cells undisturbed by intruding officials or unwelcome visitors. Thus it came to pass that many priests found means of saying daily Mass, even in prison, without raising suspicion in the mind of the governor. The altar-stone and cloth were easily concealed in the depth of a trunk; the sacred vestments were reduced to the smallest possible size, and were arranged so as to represent the four principal colours, so that one and the same vestment could serve for every day. And as to chalice and paten there was no difficulty whatever. In the seventeenth century glass tumblers were quite unknown, and the possession of silver or gilt cups aroused no more suspicion than did brass candlesticks. Moreover, during the times of persecution, pewter chalices were frequently used, numerous specimens of which are to be seen in old missions.

In the beginning of February 1626, Father Bede complains that so many people come to see him that he has to take a more convenient room at thirteen Giulii a week. Sometimes he has scarcely leisure to take his meals, and has to say the entire office during the night. Since his imprisonment he has made three converts, besides strengthening some others that were weak in their Faith. "Last Monday, Candlemas day, the rumour was spread that I was

going to be tried, together with nine or ten criminals who have since been executed. Parliament is to open on the 6th (o.s.), and some think that we shall be tried then. Others, however, believe that we shall appear at the next session of the Law Courts, in a month's time. Others say that, if we could get some one to plead for us, we should only be exiled. Others again are of opinion that some of us will be hanged and the rest banished, although hitherto no blood has been spilt. In case we should be banished, I would beg of you not to fix my future abode until I have written again. The other Fathers are well." Father Edmund not only sent some assistance, but went in person to visit his imprisoned brethren, which, however, Father Bede does not approve of, considering the risk he ran.

A postscript to this letter gives some additional particulars about the examination before the Primate. "Some gentlemen of the Archbishop's suite called me and offered me refreshment, and one of them, probably the steward, said: 'Would to God you were as good a subject of the King as I am,' to which I replied that I did not know why I should not be. 'No,' said he, 'you persuade his people to be disloyal and traitors.' 'Rather,' said I, 'would I be cut in quarters, and torn to pieces and thrown before beasts, than induce any one to be unfaithful or a traitor to His Majesty,' and after this, and some further conversation, they remained greatly satisfied with me and my religion."

The next letter, dated 19th February (o.s.), contains nothing of interest.

February 27 (o.s.). "To-day the Criminal Court is sitting, but we are not summoned. This has happened twice already, and leads us to believe that they will perhaps shed no blood, but will either banish us or send us to a fortress some twenty-five or thirty miles away, to be imprisoned there. . . . The sick man (Father Elias) who was arrested with me, though he says he is an Irishman and came from Flanders on his way to his native country, is kept in prison on suspicion of being a priest. He has not yet quite recovered."

March 13 (o.s.). "The persecution against Catholics, rich and poor, goes on increasing; even the Ambassadors of France and Venice have had to suffer from the officials, but thus far no blood has been shed. This is only a sign of their malice. By ruining the Catholics in an indirect way, in robbing them of their temporal goods, compelling them to conform to the laws of the land, and by confiscating the revenues which support seminaries, colleges, monasteries and schools abroad, they diminish the number of labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, without provoking the anger of foreign Sovereigns, as would inevitably result from acts of bodily violence."

On the 20th of March (o.s.) there is some hope of release, as the Superiors in France and Flanders have contrived to obtain the intervention of the Queen on behalf of the two Carmelites. But on the 10th April even that has proved of no avail.

"By order of the Secretary of State, Catholics, whether laymen or priests, were robbed of all the requisites for Mass, ornaments of the altar, however

poor, pyxes for the Blessed Sacrament, books, letters, writings and other things, which, in my case, represented a value of thirty Scudi (£6). A list of all the things confiscated has been drawn up and forwarded to a person of high rank, but far from there being the least hope of restitution, it is more probable that the robbery will be repeated." This letter is not signed "Beda," as were the former, but, for safety's sake, "Pier Andrea Horatio Cresci," undoubtedly the name of one of the secretaries of the Venetian Ambassador; however, the entire letter as well as the signature are in Father Bede's own hand.

According to the detailed relation of the incident, written by Father Elias, the Catholics were betrayed by one who had been in New-Prison, and feigned to be a Catholic, which enabled him to live on the charity of the others, and to learn all the secrets of the place.

The following is the translation of a document, drawn up and signed by three prisoners, and communicated to the principal Catholics, especially those at court:[1]—

"A genuine relation of the search lately made in New-Prison in London of Catholic prisoners by one Fendering, Vice-Marshal, the two Sheriffs of the town, Pole and Clithers, and their pursuivants, on the 21st of March in the year 1626 (o.s.).

"On March 21, Feast of St. Benedict, about three o'clock in the afternoon, some prisoners in New-Prison had retired to their rooms after dinner, while others were walking up and down the dining-room by

[1] A similar protest, drawn up by Walgrave, is preserved at the Record Office.

way of recreation, when suddenly Fendering, accompanied by the sheriffs and pursuivants, rushed upon them, in execution of an order of my Lord Conway, Secretary of State. The prisoners and their friends, who had come to console them, were taken by surprise and dragged shamefully, not to say barbarously, to the public hall, while the gates were guarded within and without by a strong body of soldiers, partly to terrify any Catholics who might be near, and partly by way of insult to the Catholic religion.

"Meanwhile all the rooms were thoroughly searched by Fendering and his companions. What do I say? rooms, nay, the beds, trunks, boxes, writing-desks, everything was turned upside down; the sacred vestments were carried off, as well as chalices, pyxes, and other things used for ecclesiastical functions, such as missals and other liturgical books; in short, everything, whether it concerned devotion or private study, even articles which are not contrary to law but are publicly sold at fairs and markets; every scrap of paper, whether containing our own writings or concerning our private affairs, and all that is destined for daily use and convenience was seized and carried to the hall.

"Those who had retired to rest were examined with still greater ignominy; their pockets, clothes, nay, their whole person was searched, and what is intolerable to relate, they were stripped in such an unbecoming way that a grave religious man, our fellow-prisoner, who while travelling had suffered imprisonment (as it happens not unfrequently) among Turks and heathens, declared in presence

of the sheriffs that he had neither himself experienced nor even seen such violence, inhumanity, and barbarity among the very Turks. The crowd watching in the entrance-hall the issue of the affair, impiously used their tongues and hands against the sacred things which had been carried there by men hired for the purpose, and uttered blasphemies and scornful words against us and the Catholic religion. In fine, lest the measure of inhumanity should remain incomplete, all the prisoners, while returning to their rooms, were again thoroughly and disgracefully examined. And although this was hard enough to bear, still nothing was so grievous as to see the sacred vessels profaned by sacrilegious hands, and our friends, through whose charitable visits and kind assistance we had been supported in our affliction, torn from our side and despatched to other prisons.

"To the truth whereof we, the undersigned, in the name and with the consent of the other prisoners, do witness, and have hereunto set our signatures with our own hands.

"Given in New-Prison, London, the 10th day of April (o.s.) 1626.

"Robert Townsend,
"William Walgrave,
"Father Beda, a Ssmo. Sacramento, Carmelita Discalceatus."

The first named was a Jesuit, whose real name was Robert Rookwood.[1] William Walgrave was not

[1] Foley, "Records," vol. vii. p. 670. Gee called him "a little black fellow, very compt and gallant, lodging about the midst of Drury Lane." Ibid., vol. i. p. 676.

a stranger to the London prisons. He had already met with a similar accident in 1602, and was destined to see New-Prison again in 1632, and the Gatehouse in 1635.[1]

However serious may have been the loss of everything appertaining to the Catholic worship, it was soon made good, as we learn from the following letter:—

April 17. "The memorial on the outrage has been submitted to the Queen, with a prayer for restitution of the things abstracted, and a request for her protection on behalf of the friends of the prisoners; but much good is not expected to result therefrom. A similar search has been made at the Clink prison on the other side of the river. In the meantime we have sufficiently recovered to be able to carry out all the ceremonies of Holy Week, with the exception of the Washing of the feet; but, as some one remarked, the "Sepulchre" on Maundy Thursday was striking by its poverty rather than by magnificence. Blessed be His Holy Name, Who did not refuse to live in a stable."

This letter is signed like the last. Another, dated April 24, contains no news of importance.

May 8. "The Catholics are brought before the tribunals in order to take the oath of allegiance, after which, kneeling down, they make a protest, a kind of abjuration of their faith, condemning the Catholic Church and embracing Protestantism, as happened only last Sunday to some people before

[1] Foley, "Records," vol. i. pp. 28, 279, and 517.

the criminal court, where a friend of mine refused to do either the one or the other, and immediately received a sentence of confiscation of all his property and imprisonment during the King's pleasure, which often lasts one's lifetime. This servant of God returned to prison, made his confession and communion last Tuesday, being still in perfect health; on Wednesday he was taken ill, and yesterday morning (Thursday) he rendered his soul to God. A happy and speedy delivery after such an act of faith. There are at present twenty Catholics in this prison."

July 2. "The Fathers in France and Flanders have been working for my deliverance, and I should already be free but for a mistake on the part of the Duc de Chevreuse (Ambassador Extraordinary to France), who pleaded for a priest of my name and Order, but of Spanish nationality. It having been found out that I am a born and bred Englishman, there is some difficulty in settling this point. I have written to Paris, and as soon as the answer arrives I expect to be set free on the understanding that I leave the country, otherwise I run the risk of being imprisoned anew.

(Signed) BEDA."

Having regained their freedom in the course of the month of July, the two Fathers, Bede and Elias, proceeded at once to Calais; the former went to his old monastery at Brussels, while the latter was called to Paris as Professor of Divinity. While in

prison Father Bede had continued in his office of Vicar-Provincial, but on his departure from England Father Eliseus resumed this dignity.

A second search of the various prisons took place towards the middle of August, but in a less offensive way, owing, no doubt, to the remonstrances submitted to the Queen on the former occasion. The French Ambassador, Bassompierre, obtained the release of sixteen prisoners, chiefly priests, but on condition that they should leave England at once, not even being allowed the usual forty days of grace. Only eleven accepted these terms, the rest remained in prison until December, when they obtained leave to go abroad through the intervention of the Venetian Ambassador, and arrived safely at Calais on the feast of St. Thomas.

The persecution being now less violent, Father Bede was anxious to return to his missionary work. With the consent of the General he set out as early as January or February 1627. His plan was to proceed from Calais to Flushing, and thence to England, so as to avoid the suspicion of the English authorities by crossing the Channel from a Protestant place. He was not yet, however, at the end of his troubles. Whilst waiting for his ship to put to sea he was denounced as a Catholic priest and again thrown into prison, where he remained five or six months.

On 10th July 1627 he writes from Brussels: "Thanks be to God Who has delivered me from the hands of the enemy, and once more restored me to the society of His faithful servants; though

nothing has been left undone which human malice could devise to endanger me, yet Our Lord has overcome all difficulties, and delivered me without my paying so much as one farthing; even the expenses of my daily life in prison are to be defrayed by my persecutors, who have robbed me sufficiently to enable them to do so.

"Fully five months have I been in captivity, three of which I spent in the common prison. But afterwards, as I refused to bargain for freedom, they locked me up in the *Calaboso*, as the Spaniards call it, that is in the cells usually reserved for the worst criminals who undergo the heaviest penalties. There, however, the gaoler, though a Protestant, became very friendly towards me, and handed me through a loophole a breviary and the Holy Scriptures, which a Catholic from Middlesburgh had sent me, together with paper and other things. Thus I could employ my time in study. Only once was I able to exercise the priestly ministry, by hearing the confession of a Catholic sailor in danger of death. Not knowing Dutch, I could not converse with the gaolers on religious topics, but from their attitude towards me I venture to conclude that the impression I left on them was rather favourable, and that even their prejudices against the Catholic Church underwent a change. They became extremely civil, but did not show it openly for fear of the higher authorities. May God grant them the fulness of the light of faith.

"We left Flushing, the place of my imprisonment on the first of this month (July), and arrived on

the third at Antwerp, where I was obliged to take a few days' rest. The Catholic religion is anything but flourishing in Holland, which is under Protestant government. However, no one is punished on account of his religion, neither have Catholics to pay higher taxes than the members of the established church. There is only a fine of one thousand florins to be paid by a priest. At first they endeavoured to extort two or even four thousand Scudi (£400 or £800) from me by subjecting me to all manner of ill-treatment. There is also a fine of one hundred Scudi for hearing Mass, but otherwise Catholics have just as much liberty there as we have here (in Flanders), though they are carefully watched and excluded from government and other offices. Nevertheless some of the leading gentlemen are married to Catholic ladies without, on that account, being deprived of higher dignities. There are many Dutch priests, and even some Religious who administer the sacraments and preach the Word of God. Would to God it were so in England. No news has arrived from that country for two months, the seaports being closed while the fleet is being got ready to sail. The last news we received was that the persecution still continues, and though there has been question of an arrangement between the King and the Catholics, whereby the latter were to buy the free exercise of religion for a heavy sum, even the King's own word affords no security, and I doubt whether the understanding ever shall come into effect. A rumour is current that the English fleet has made

great havoc in Normandy, somewhere near Nantes; may God protect His Church. While these disorders last, there is no possibility of returning to England without the greatest expense, a long journey, and obvious danger. I therefore remain here waiting for the arrival of Father General, who will direct me with regard to my further movements."

The next letter is dated Antwerp, July 23, 1627. In reply to a command to give a full account of his experiences, he tells the story of his imprisonment in London and in Zealand. Thus he speaks with reference to the latter: "The ship that was to take me to England left the port of Flushing in company with twenty or thirty others, three weeks after I was cast into prison. The next morning the whole fleet suffered shipwreck off the coast of Flanders. Notwithstanding thē bigotry of the inhabitants of that town, God gave me such an influence over the gaolers that after a short time I almost commanded the whole prison. All doors were opened according as I desired, excepting only the outer gate. The gaoler had, of course, to obey his orders, yet he and his whole family dealt with me so leniently, especially during the time of my illness, that I felt more like being in the house of a brother than in prison. I was also loved and respected by some gentlemen who thought to compliment me in saying that though I was a priest and a Religious, I was a good man. The Prior of this monastery (Antwerp) showed his great charity by sending money for my needs in prison."

Father Bede obtained his freedom through the

intercession of some friends, who arranged that he should be exchanged for the captain of a Dutch ship who had fallen into the hands of the Spaniards.

After this unsuccessful attempt to return to England, it was deemed more prudent for him to remain in Flanders for a few years. Excepting a visitation he made in the name of the General in 1629, in the monasteries and convents of Burgundy, which at that time were under the jurisdiction of the Provincial of Belgium, he seems to have occupied no post of Superiority, so that we are unable to say in which monasteries he chiefly lived, but his name is so frequently mentioned in connection with the missionary seminary at Louvain, that we must conclude that he acted as lecturer at this important school, where a number of English and Irish students were preparing themselves for missionary work.

Despite the repeated requests of the English Vicar-Provincial, Father Bede only received orders to return to London in 1635. Upon his arrival, he gathered all the Fathers around him in the house of a friend, and held an official visitation. To his great satisfaction, he found that all were eagerly engaged in the propagation of the true Faith. To the joy of the missionaries, he produced the letters-patent of the General, whereby he was nominated Vicar-Provincial.

Of his remaining years few details have been recorded. He held his office until about 1642, when he was succeeded by Father Elias, his former fellow-prisoner. Father Simon Stock having taken up his residence at Canterbury, Father Bede took

his place at the Spanish Embassy, where he exercised the apostolic ministry with remarkable success. Though he passed unhurt through the persecution of 1642, he became some years later the involuntary cause of a riot by which the Embassy was endangered. A mob having gathered outside the building, demanding the expulsion of the Popish priest, and threatening to attack the house in case he were not delivered up, he was secretly removed to the country, but was able to return to town after a few months. Already, at that time, he was so much weakened by illness that he could neither walk nor stand without assistance.

On March 19, 1646 (o.s.), Father Anselm writes: "Father Bede is still confined to his bed, and it is pitiful to see with what excruciating pains he is afflicted. He cannot be moved without the most acute sufferings. The physician spends all his skill in endeavouring to give him some relief, but the disease will last until his strength is utterly exhausted. Though he has been in this state for five months already, he ever shows the greatest patience." And again, on November 6: "Father Bede and myself are at the Embassy. This good father is suffering so much that he is almost always laid up, and probably will never recover." Another account says: "For a whole year he suffered from grievous diseases, and for the last six months he had to keep to his bed, nor could he move himself or be moved even a finger's breadth without dreadful pain. Yet he always appeared cheerful and happy, so that the physician himself was astonished at his patience.

He received Holy Communion every Sunday and Feast-day, after having made his confession with the utmost contrition. All who came to see him returned home better than they had come, because he exhorted them to virtue, not alone by his words, but especially by his example. Particularly conspicuous were his modesty, his love of poverty, his resignation, and the conformity of his will to that of Almighty God. His strength gradually giving way, and his state becoming more dangerous, he received the last sacraments." These details are further supplemented by the following notes taken by Father Elias, who says: "He died on the Feast of the Prophet Elias (July 20, 1647, aged fifty-nine), and was buried in St. Giles's Churchyard, being a member of the household of the Ambassador. Many persons assisted at the ceremonies which are performed in the Catholic Church previous to the removal of the body, and kissed the feet of the deceased. The Ambassador himself, as also all those that were present, were much moved. The funeral sermon was preached by Father Anselm. Father Bede was a most exemplary Religious, of strict observance, and an indefatigable labourer, and died in the odour of sanctity." "He was assiduous in prayer and mortification," adds Father Anselm, "and well versed in the practice of virtue, but particularly given to works of penance, which he would never omit, though his age and infirmities should have exempted him from all austerities."

Father Bede has left no writings beyond numerous letters in Latin and Italian.

CHAPTER V

FATHER ELIAS OF JESUS
(EDWARD BRADSHAW)

Parentage of the missioner—The "Holy Desert"—Arrival in England—The Plague—The prison—A chaplaincy in Wales—Literary labours—Death of the missioner.

In the life of Father Bede, frequent mention has been made of Father Elias, who accompanied him to England, shared the hardships and privations of his long imprisonment, and was set free with him through the intervention of the French Ambassador.

Edward Bradshaw or Bradshaigh[1] was the son of a cadet of an ancient Lancashire family. Though born in Ireland, he was brought up at Manchester or vicinity, where his father resided. Among his Catholic relatives we find a namesake who entered the English College in Rome in 1623, and also Dom John Augustine Bradshaw, the founder of the English Benedictine monastery at Douay. There it was that Edward received his higher education; but instead of applying for admission to the Benedictine Order, he joined the Discalced Carmelites

[1] Kindly communicated by Mr. Gillow in amendment of his article in the Bibliographical Dictionary, vol. i. p. 286.

at Brussels, who stood in high repute for the austerity of their life and the zeal they displayed in their work. Having taken the Carmelite habit in 1618, and at the same time exchanged his family name for that of *Elias of Jesus*, he pronounced his vows on the 4th of July 1619. In the following year we find him among the first hermits of the "Desert" of Marlagne.

In order to understand and appreciate this important epoch of his life, it is necessary to say a few words on the institute of "Deserts."[1] The Ven. Father Thomas of Jesus, whose efforts produced such remarkable results in the missionary undertakings not alone of the Order, but of the whole Church, was also the founder of the first "Desert." While yet a young Religious, he was struck by the idea that the Primitive Rule of the Order aimed at an entirely contemplative life. Gradually he developed the plan of a monastery sufficiently removed from the bustle of towns, where the Religious would find the opportunity for devoting their whole time and energy to the cultivation of the spirit of contemplation. With the exception of four or five monks, who were to remain permanently, the Religious should spend but a year in the "Desert," and afterwards return to the monasteries whence they had come, so that the whole Community being composed of strong and healthy members, no relaxa-

[1] See my articles on "Deserts," especially Marlagne, in the *Stimmen vom Berge Carmel*, Graz, 1897–8, pp. 183 and following; and "*Chroniques du Carmel*," Brussels, 1898, pp. 300 and following; and also the view of the same monastery in *St. Peter's Magazine*, London, 1898, vol. ii. p. 128.

tion, however small, should ever become necessary. After some difficulties, the Superiors of the Order resolved to carry out Father Thomas's idea, and a suitable site having been found, the first "Desert" was founded on 28th June 1592, at Bolarque, on the banks of the Tajo, in New Castille. Father Thomas, though present at the inauguration, was not able to remain there for more than some days; but a few years later, being Provincial of Old Castille, he built a similar house at a place called Las Batuecas, of which he became Prior himelf. The result of these establishments was so favourable that in a short time all the Provinces of the Spanish Congregation possessed their "Deserts," and the Italian Congregation prescribed the erection of this kind of monastery wherever it was possible, so that not less than twenty-two "Deserts" have been established, of which, however, there remains but one, the rest having been abolished by various Revolutions which swept away so many religious institutions. While Provincial of Belgium, Father Thomas resolved to introduce the Eremitical life there also. An opportunity presented itself in 1619, when, after many difficulties, he obtained from the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella a domain called Marlagne, near Namur, well adapted for this manner of life. The foundation-stone was laid by the Bishop of Namur, in presence of the donors and their whole court. The solemn inauguration took place on 14th September 1620, when a community of ten priests, six clerics (among whom Father Elias, who was not yet ordained, occupied the second

place), and five lay brothers, were installed in the new monastery. This was constructed after the manner of a Charterhouse: twenty-four cells, each with a small garden, formed a large quadrangle, in the centre of which an unornamented but devotional chapel was erected. The refectory, chapter-room, kitchen, robery, and other dependences were connected with the principal cloister. All the buildings were very plain, reminding the inhabitants that they had come here to lead a life of self-denial and penance.

The manner of life at a "Desert" resembles that of the Carthusians, but is far more austere. The chant of the Divine Office is more solemn than in other monasteries, more time is devoted to mental prayer, the fast is stricter, the silence almost uninterrupted. Only once a fortnight the Hermits, after the custom of the ancient Anchorites, assemble for a conference on spiritual subjects (several volumes of these conferences have been published, others are still preserved in manuscript at Namur), followed by social intercourse. The time, not devoted to prayer, is spent in manual work by way of recreation, the Religious finding occupation in the cultivation of their little gardens; study, strictly speaking, is not allowed, lest the constant strain upon the mind should prove too severe. At the time when Father Elias was a member of the "Desert," the Order had not yet drawn up the laws regarding the Eremitical life, and the Hermits of Marlagne observed as yet the customs of the Spanish "Deserts" in every point, even as to food, which was hardly adequate for Northern countries. Even eggs were excluded from

the bill of fare, excepting the few weeks between Easter and Pentecost. During the rest of the year vegetables, fish, fruit, and bread constituted the meals, while on all Fridays they fasted on bread and water. It should be mentioned that notwithstanding such rigorous penance these "Deserts" were never used as places of punishment for those guilty of any fault, but on the contrary as a welcome refuge for those who desired to advance in holiness and fervour. No one was sent to the "Desert" unless he desired it himself, and even then only on the recommendation of the Superiors, who judged whether he had sufficient strength, and so great a wish for sanctity, as to enable him to bear the austerity of the Hermit-life. In fact the history of the "Deserts" proves that there were always numerous applications, and that many Religious had to wait a long time until a vacancy could be found for them.

The grounds belonging to the monastery of Marlagne were rather extensive, comprising not less than seventy acres, mostly forest, with numerous rivulets, canals, and ponds. At equal distances from the monastery, and from each other, there were eleven small hermitages, each consisting of a little cell and an oratory. Here the Religious retired at certain periods of the year, especially during Lent and Advent. The occasion of their departure was the signal for a touching ceremony: they took leave of the Prior and their brethren, and having received a breviary and other necessary books, as well as some provisions, left the monastery for one

or other of these hermitages, there to live in perfect solitude. They followed all the exercises of the monastic community, reciting their Office in the oratory at the same time, and with the same solemnity, as the monks in choir, and ringing their bell in response to the church bells. Early in the morning, two neighbouring Hermits served each other's Mass, observing strict silence even then. On Sundays and feasts all went to the monastery for Mass and Vespers, and returned to their hermitages in the evening with provisions for the coming week.

In order to ensure the perfect observance of these holy practices, no one was permitted to visit the "Desert" except on the authority of the Provincial, and even then only under certain restrictions. From the history of Marlagne (and the same might be said of the other "Deserts"), it appears that, until the time of the French Revolution, no relaxation was suffered to creep in, and almost to the last the "Desert" was the home of eminent piety and ardent zeal. It need hardly be said that no one could spend a whole year in such holy surroundings without being moved by the solemn obligations of man towards God, and those who had had the happiness of leading, for a time, the life of Hermits would take away with them a lasting impression of the great lesson they learnt there. The Statutes of Marlagne, as well as the Instructions of Ven. Father Thomas, contain a very beautiful chapter on the duties of the Hermit after his return into the ordinary monasteries of the Order.

The reader will now understand that the fact of Father Elias, and after him several English Carmelites, having each spent a year at Marlagne, proves that they had already distinguished themselves beforehand by the practice of Religious virtue in no ordinary degree; and, further, that they were truly called to the contemplative life, which is the basis of that spirit of self-sacrifice indispensable for the exercise of the Apostolical ministry.

Having quitted Marlagne, probably in the autumn of 1621, Father Elias resumed his studies, and in due time was ordained priest. He was sent to England in 1625 in company of Father Bede, and laboured zealously in London, especially among the plague-stricken, until he himself fell a victim to that dreadful scourge. Before he had quite recovered, he was made a prisoner on suspicion of being a priest. Examined by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who was unable to lay anything definite to his charge, he was retained at New-prison until July 1626, when he obtained permission to leave England. He then went to Calais, and finally to Paris, where he was elected Professor of Philosophy and Theology at the College of the Order. Besides several other works, of which we shall speak later on, he wrote a short history of the political and religious events that had happened during his stay in England, which, however, was not printed. Though containing much valuable detail, it embraces too short a period to recommend itself to the attention of historians.

Towards the end of his life, Father Elias also

wrote a short memoir of the Carmelite missioners in England, which has rendered very good service to the compiler of these biographical notices. This is what the author says about himself: "The fifth (missionary) was Father Elias, *alias* Barwell, born in Ireland of English parents. Having studied under the Benedictines at Douay, he became a Discalced Carmelite, and was sent to England about 1625; he was stationed in London, and becoming known to the Protestants, was arrested and imprisoned together with Father Bede, and both were sent into banishment by royal decree. While beyond seas, he taught philosophy in our monasteries in France. Having returned to England, he went to the house of a certain nobleman in the Western counties, where he remains until the present day. For many years there was no other Catholic in that house except the head of the family, and during all that time he (Father Elias) was practically a prisoner, and had to endure much hardship. At length he converted the sons of the nobleman to the true Faith. He seldom went out, unless compelled thereto by persecution. He delights in study, and is now writing a work on the history of the Carmelite Order. While imprisoned in London he was suffering from the plague, and escaped death almost miraculously. He was Vicar-Provincial for five years."

From the correspondence of his fellow-labourers we gather some additional information. Even during his professorship at Paris, Father Elias never forgot the missionary work. When at the

beginning of 1629 Father Edward, the founder and Superior of the Irish Mission, passed through Paris, Father Elias was ready to enlist among the Irish missioners, but the premature death of Father Edward prevented the execution of this project. Some years later, in 1632, he obtained leave to return to London, where he received a most cordial welcome from his brethren. In a letter, dated May 1633, he promised his assistance in the compilation of the history of the Order, quoting Speed, Harpfeld and Pith as authorities on ancient British monks and monasteries, and their connection with the Carmelites.

From that time forward very little is known of Father Elias, so retired was the life he led, first among his own relatives in or near Manchester, and afterwards in Wales. His time was divided between spiritual duties and study. Even when raised to the dignity of Vicar-Provincial, he was not able to communicate openly with his brethren. Father Anselm writes on March 19, 1646 (o.s.), "After a long search, I have at last discovered the whereabouts of our Superior. He is very far from town, more than two hundred miles, and is bound to use the greatest caution in his movements, so that he dare not venture out except at night. For if he fell into the hands of the ministers, who everywhere, but particularly in his part of the country, are full of bitter hatred towards priests and Religious, he would unquestionably be accused of high treason and sentenced to death, and probably his host would become involved in his fate, for he is one of the

principal noblemen of the country. Hence he has to exercise the greatest discretion, and cannot easily receive visitors. The persecution against Catholics continues, and while all sects are tolerated, (their number is considerable), Catholics alone are persecuted. All those who took up arms for the King lose their possessions; the other Catholics retain one-third part only, and even for this they have to pay such heavy taxes that hardly anything remains for themselves. Their children are snatched from them, which certainly is their greatest trial, and are brought up in the novel English religion. If Catholics are so harshly dealt with, it is easy to imagine how the missioners must fare, who have nothing to live upon beyond the alms they receive, and which can never be relied upon, as even people who used to be well-to-do have barely enough to support themselves." Nevertheless the writer of this letter expresses a wish that the Superiors may soon increase the number of missioners.

In his next letter, dated November 4, 1646 (o.s.), Father Anselm is rejoiced at the prospect of a Canonical Visitation, which should take place before the next Chapter-General, so that the latter may provide for the needs of the English Mission. Accordingly, at the beginning of March 1647, Father Onuphrius of St. James arrived in London, accompanied by Father Cæsar of St. Bonaventure.[1]

[1] Father Cæsar of St. Bonaventure was the third son of Peter Bertius, rector of the University of Leyden, a famous convert to the Catholic religion. His eldest son, Abraham, joined the Car-

It will be remembered that Father Onuphrius had already, in 1635, filled the office of Visitor-General in England and Ireland. Since that time two Visitations had taken place, one by the local Superior, Father Bede, on the occasion of his return to the mission in 1636, and another in 1642, by Father Vincent of St. Louis,[1] on behalf of the General. It was then Father Elias was appointed Vicar-Provincial, in succession to Father Bede. The Visitor lived at the Spanish Embassy, and had the opportunity of witnessing with his own eyes the ravages the mission had sustained by persecution, and the unabated zeal of the missioners, in spite of perils and privations. Father Vincent left London for France, and thence proceeded to Ireland.

Father Onuphrius has left a written report, from

melite Order in 1627, taking the name of Peter of the Mother of God. He worked for many years on the Dutch Mission, and died in 1683. The second son, John, entered the Order on the day his brother was professed, and assumed the name Paul of Jesus Mary; he died as missioner among the Maronites in 1643. The third son, Wenceslaus, the above-mentioned Father Cæsar, entered religion in 1631. After his return from England he joined his eldest brother in Holland, and died on October 27, 1662.

[1] The MS. chronicle says, by mistake, Father Innocent of St. Vincent. Father Vincent of St. Louis was born at Leyden about 1599, of Protestant parents, James Stalpart and Lidwine Wynters. Vincent became a Catholic in 1613, and made his profession at the Carmelite monastery at Brussels on February 2, 1619. He was successively Prior at Douay (1631–34), Lille, and Louvain, and was elected Definitor-Provincial for the years 1643–46. In 1648 he established a mission at Leyden, where he acquired great reputation for prudence and charity, particularly during the time of the plague. While administering to the plague-stricken he contracted the disease, and died on October 6, 1655.

which it appears that the zeal of the fathers was above praise, and that they knew how to fulfil their arduous duties without neglecting a single item of the monastic observance. The missionary fund of about £400, the proceeds of collections and legacies, being lost through the bankruptcy of some merchants, the only property of the mission consisted in books and vestments. The Visitor suggests periodical meetings of the missioners, for the discussion of current business and the communication of their experiences. He also orders some books to be kept, containing biographies of deceased missioners, a chronological account of the principal events and the dispositions made by successive Visitors. These books, which assumed the shape of a continuous history of the English Mission, were sent to Rome in 1686, but are now in the London Archives. Their author is not named, but must have been Father Anselm, who, on the occasion of this Visitation, was elected Vicar-Provincial in place of Father Elias. The latter, at the wish of Father Vincent, wrote the short memoir of "English Carmelites," which we have repeatedly quoted.

The Visitation over, Father Elias returned to his post in Flintshire, but not long afterwards he was struck down by illness. He showed great patience and resignation, even desired to be dissolved and to be with Christ. As his fever increased, he received the last sacraments, and rendered his soul to its Creator on September 25, 1652.

Father Anselm, who wrote his obituary notice, speaks of five or six large volumes written by this

Father. They are all lost, with the exception of the two small pamphlets already mentioned.[1]

[1] 1. *De antiquis monachis Insularum Britanniæ sub Primitiva Ecclesia viventibus.*

2. *Anglia Sancta et Catholica, seu Vitæ sanctorum Britanorum veterum et recentiorum Anglorum atque etiam exterorum, qui olim ad Ecclesiam et nationem Anglicanam spectabant.* Auctore D. V. Eduardo Bradshaw, de Manchestria, Anglo, S. Theologiæ candidato, Catholico Romano. 3 vols. A correspondent to Dunton's *Athenian Mercury*, No. 29, vol. vi. 1692, described the MS., which was then in his possession, as a large quarto, five inches thick.

Nothing is known of his other works.

CHAPTER VI

FATHER FRANCIS OF THE SAINTS (CHRISTOPHER LEIGH)

Birth and Religious profession—A dangerous journey—Imprisonment—A deathbed in King's Bench prison.

CHRISTOPHER LEIGH or Lee, a native of Sussex according to some authors, but of Oxford according to others, was born about 1600, of pious parents, William Leigh and Elizabeth Haton or Hatton. One of their sons became a Dominican, while another joined the Carmelite Order at Brussels, where he made his profession on 7th November 1621, taking the name of Francis of the Saints. He probably spent a year at Marlagne, like other English Carmelites, and made his philosophical and theological studies at the missionary college of Louvain. It is recorded that he distinguished himself by a most exact observance of all the rules. He returned to England in 1631 or the following year. On 17th August 1633 Father Eliseus, then Vicar-Provincial, writes: "Father Francis is thirty miles from London; there are so many priests in this country that it is not an easy task to find shelter for them all." We have already noticed this complaint, and shall meet it again. It appears, however, that Father Francis

lived for several years in the house of Sir Peter Browne of Kiddington, Oxfordshire, where he devoted himself to the service of numerous Catholics living in the neighbourhood.

On 16th December 1633, Father Eliseus writes again that Father Francis is far away from London. "He is a good Religious, and works with much success." The same words occur in a letter of 22nd March 1634. On 1st October of the same year Father Elias says that Father Francis is in the centre of the island, and labours extremely well. He must, however, have returned to London for a short time, for we find his name appended to "Articles of Concord between the secular and regular clergy," dated London, 17th November 1635.[1] The other missionary who signed on behalf of the Carmelites was Father Eliseus.

This is the last news we have of Father Francis until the Civil Wars fanned the hatred against Catholics. The Chronicle of the Mission contains the following narrative of Father Francis's death, probably from the pen of Father Anselm :—

1641. "Father Francis a Sanctis died in London, in the prison commonly called King's Bench. He was particularly esteemed, on account of the purity of his life and his love of mortification, as well as for his piety. Having left England in early youth, in order to serve God the more perfectly, he went to Flanders, where he bade farewell to the world and entered the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel. Indefatigable in prayer and mortification, humble,

[1] Dodd, vol. iii. p. 133.

modest, and charitable, he rose from virtue to virtue, ever aspiring after greater perfection. Having spent several years in the practice of the monastic life to every one's edification, and well prepared by excellent studies, eloquent and cultured, he received orders from his Superiors to proceed to England. . . .

"The history of his imprisonment and last illness is noteworthy as containing many edifying traits.

"Father Francis had an elder brother in London, of the Order of St. Dominic, who was imprisoned in October 1641 on suspicion of being a priest. He was to be tried at the next sitting of the Criminal Court (as indeed he was), and in case it were proved that he had received Sacred Orders abroad he would be sentenced to death for high treason. Father Francis, who was then living in the Midlands, resolved to betake himself to London to render his brother what assistance he could. While on his way he fell into the hands of one of the patrols, who at that time were, everywhere, on the alert for fear of plots and conspiracies against the newly constituted Parliament. He was arrested as a suspicious person, and was being conducted to a neighbouring magistrate when he succeeded in escaping from his captors, and giving spurs to his horse fled, but only to fall into the hands of another patrol. Among the latter was a farmer who had met the father once in the house of a certain Catholic living in those parts of the country, to whom the father intended to repair for the coming night. This patrol was more careful in the custody of the prisoner, and took him at once to a magistrate, who asked him whether he was a

Catholic. For the Parliament feigned great suspicion of Catholics, and spread the rumour among the people that they intended to overturn not only the Government but the entire kingdom. Father Francis answered in the affirmative, adding that on no account would he deny his Faith. The magistrate replied that he could not request him to take the oath of allegiance except in presence of another magistrate as witness. He then commanded the corporal of the guard to take him to his house and keep him safe until Monday, (this happened on a Saturday), when several other magistrates were expected. When Father Francis was brought before them on the Monday, threats were held out against him if he refused to take the oath. He replied meekly that he shrunk from swearing, yet he begged to be acquainted with the wording of the oath. This being done, he said that he could not possibly take it, whatever might be the consequences. To a further question whether he was a priest, he replied that he was unworthy of such an honour. They now began to press him with divers questions, threats and flatteries, to see whether he would commit himself by an unguarded word. Tired of the cross-examination, he at last appealed to Parliament, whereupon he was thrown into a foul and stifling dungeon, where he endured intense suffering with great patience. After a few days he was brought from Aylesbury, where this had happened, to London, being treated on the journey like a highwayman or a notorious criminal. He was placed on horseback without saddle, and his feet were tied together under the horse, lest, they

said, he should escape again. His hands, too, were so tightly bound with iron shackles that not only did the blood flow from them, but they were literally skinned. In this miserable plight they conveyed him, without cloak, hat or collar, with great parade, shouting and cheering. As soon as they arrived in London they brought him before the Lord Chief-Justice, who examined him briefly, reserving the trial to Parliament, and sent him to the prison known as King's Bench. This gaol being at that time overcrowded, he remained the first night in the public hall without fire, notwithstanding the intense cold. But the following day he succeeded in finding a small cell, scarcely large enough for him to get into, which was reached by a ladder, and, of course, contained no fireplace. More than earthly comfort, however, he appreciated its privacy since he could devote himself to prayer undisturbed. He even sent for a breviary, and the things necessary for the celebration of Mass, which he was provided with by a fellow-missioner (Father Anselm), but could make no use of them owing to his sudden illness, contracted, as is supposed, in the bed where he slept, which belonged to another prisoner who a short time before had died of the plague. Parliament sent spies for the purpose of discovering whether he was a priest. They put many questions as to where he was born, what was his profession, whether he had been travelling abroad and knew foreign languages, and many more of the same kind. Hearing that he had been some time in Flanders, they burst out laughing, as though they had made

an important discovery. No sooner was this examination over than he was taken ill, and sent for one of the Carmelite missioners (Father Anselm), who, regardless of danger, hastened to the prison, but had much difficulty in reaching the patient's cell. Transported with joy when seeing a brother-religious by his bedside, Father Francis made a general confession, with many signs of true compunction. The confessor consoled and comforted him to the best of his power, and encouraged him to bear all his sufferings for the love of Christ, and on his part rejoiced, seeing the sufferer enduring with such constancy of mind the pains of the dreadful disease and the hardships of the prison.

"On the 26th of December, the day consecrated to the memory of St. Stephen, proto-martyr, he rendered his soul to God in the greatest peace, and with entire resignation. And although he was spared the sword of the executioner, he was not deprived of the palm of martyrdom. A Catholic gentleman, imprisoned at the same time, who visited him every day in his lonely cell, says that he bore all afflictions with a great spiritual joy. He remained in the prison a little over three weeks; he was a man of solid virtue and singular patience, enduring privations with a contented and even mind, being never troubled or upset on account of adversity. These were the words of that eye-witness."

Father Francis's name appears on the list of those glorious defenders of the Faith whose Beatification is being forwarded at Rome.

CHAPTER VII

FATHER BARTHOLOMEW OF THE ASSUMPTION (JOHN DIGBY)

Biographical notices—Extensive faculties granted by the Pope to the missioner.

JOHN DIGBY, belonging to an ancient family related to the Earls of Bristol and the celebrated Sir Kenelm Digby, entered the Carmelite Order about the same time as Father Francis. His family were known to be eccentric, but his behaviour as novice and student was so excellent that he was allowed to make his profession, and was even chosen for the English Mission. He came to England together with Father Francis at the end of 1631 or the beginning of 1632, but ere long he complained that the Order was too austere for him, especially after a long illness he underwent in the summer of 1634, and finally he left it altogether. It is not known what became of him afterwards.

The faculties he received from Rome in October 1631 may be of interest to our readers. It appears that the original, in this as well as in other cases, was kept in the Archives in Rome, the missionaries being supplied with an unauthenticated copy only,

since the introduction into England of "Papal Bulls" would have been punished as high treason. The faculties granted to Father Bartholomew are almost identical with others of the same epoch, which are still preserved in our Archives.

The missionary receives power to reconcile heretics to the Church, excepting fugitives from Catholic countries; full power of absolution is granted, notwithstanding reservation to the Apostolic See or otherwise. Also full power of dispensation from all irregularities and censures, with the exception of the irregularity incurred by wilful murder or mutilation. To grant the Apostolic Blessing with Plenary Indulgence to recent converts, except in places where there is a Bishop or Vicar-Apostolic in residence. To grant to the Faithful Plenary Indulgences on the occasion of great feasts, also, once a year, after General Confession and at the moment of death; and an Indulgence of forty or fifty days once a year on a day of their own choice. To keep and read forbidden books, for the purpose of refuting the same, excepting the works of Machiavelli and Du Moulin (author of treatises on Canon Law in a Machiavellian spirit), and books treating of astrology and kindred subjects. To administer all the sacraments, except Confirmation and Orders, even omitting non-essential ceremonies. However, in places where there are priests with *quasi* parochial rights, Baptism, Extreme Unction, and Matrimony should not be administered without their consent. Wherever the Breviary may not be safely used, the holder of these faculties may substitute the Rosary

or other prayers or psalms, if he knows any by heart. He is further empowered to bless and consecrate sacred vestments, ornaments, and vessels, except those the consecration of which would entail the use of Chrism. He is not bound to inquire whether the altar on which he celebrates Mass contains relics or not. He may say Mass in any decent place, even in the open air or underground, as early as three hours before dawn (in winter), or as late as one hour after midday; when necessary, he may say Mass twice a day, in presence of heretics or persons under excommunication, provided always that the server be a Catholic. He may preserve the Blessed Sacrament in any decent place without burning an altar lamp. Where there is no Bishop or Vicar-Apostolic, the holder of the faculties has power to commute simple vows, except the vow of chastity or of entering a Religious Order; also to dispense with sworn promises if there be a just reason for such a dispensation. In urgent cases he may grant dispensations of the second and third degree of consanguinity and affinity, before and after the solemnisation of matrimony, but this only when the Bishop cannot be approached on the subject. He has leave to publish and print Catholic books without the names of the author and the place of publication. He may also make "composition" with converts who own ancient Church property. In this case they have to give some alms to the rightful owners (*i.e.* Religious Orders), if these are represented in England, or else to any poor Catholics.

These faculties are valid for seven years in Eng-

land, Ireland, Scotland and the Isle of Man, as well as in all other places under the dominion of the British Crown. The original is signed by Cardinal Barberini (Antonio, the elder), and John Anthony Thomasin, Notary of the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition.

CHAPTER VIII

FATHER ANSELM OF ST. MARY (JOHN HANSOM)

Birth of the missioner—The "Desert"—At the Embassy—Three Irish Carmelites—Peter Walsh—A journey to Ireland—Father Anselm's last illness and death.

JOHN HANSOM belonged to an ancient English family which can be traced through many centuries, but which became principally known in the fifteenth century through the Paston letters. John's father was a tailor, but lived in sufficiently easy circumstances to enable him to purchase the freedom of Norwich in 1597. He and his wife, Clementia Howell, were Catholics who brought up their children in the practice of Christian virtue. John joined the Carmelite novitiate at Louvain in 1624, being then over twenty years old, and assumed the name Anselm of St. Mary. His profession took place on 5th September 1625. Being inclined to the contemplative life, he applied for admission to the "Desert" of Marlagne. The ceremony of "Installation," as it was called, was singularly touching. He and his companions went to the monastery of Namur, where they rested while the Prior of the "Desert" was informed of their arrival. Day and hour for

their introduction having been fixed, they presented themselves at the porter's lodge and were conducted to the monastery while the church bells were ringing. In the meantime the Community assembled in the choir, vested in their white cloaks. After some prayers, in which God's blessing was invoked for the new hermits, the Community adjourned to the chapter-room, where the new comers were presented to their brethren, each of whom addressed them a few words of advice. They were then conducted to their cells, and the Prior read to them the rules of the house, which they promised to observe faithfully. The ceremony of dismissal at the end of a year's sojourn at the "Desert" was equally impressive.

From Marlagne Father Anselm went to Antwerp for his studies. In his leisure hours he occupied himself with the history of the ancient British Saints, as we learn from a letter dated 1633.

In 1635 he obtained leave from the General to join the English Mission. For the first two years he acted as chaplain to the Venetian Ambassador, Don Angelo Corraro, who on his departure handed him a testimonial in recognition of his labours. Father Anselm occupied the same position under Corraro's successors, Don Gio. Justiniano, Don Gio. Sagrado and Don Francesco Giavarino, two of whom were Ambassadors, the third Resident of the Republic of Venice. From the Venetian Embassy Father Anselm went for a short time to the French and later on to the Spanish, where he remained until death.

As domestic chaplain to Catholic ambassadors he

was able to exercise his priestly functions without hindrance even during troublous times, and for many years he was incessantly labouring for the spiritual welfare of a numerous flock. He also held the office of Vicar-Provincial from 1647 till 1665, and again from 1672 till 1676, but during part of this time the English Province consisted of only a small number of missioners.

Some of his letters are still preserved. On 28th August 1641 he proposed to go to Rome on some important non-political business, but it would seem that the journey never took place. The letters of 19th March and 6th November 1646 principally contain news from the other missioners, and have been inserted in the foregoing pages. It appears that, at the Chapter-General, a complaint had been made that so little was known of the English Province, but Father Anselm explains that the persecution is too violent to allow the Fathers to settle down anywhere or to communicate by letter with each other or with the Superiors. Further letters to Rome, dated 18th August 1648 and 7th March 1649, are without general interest.

About this time Father Anselm came under the notice of Thomas Hyde, subsequently Earl of Clarendon. After the execution of Charles I., Hyde was sent with Lord Cottington to Madrid to obtain the recognition of Charles II. as king of England. It was well known that the sympathies of the Spanish Court were with the Commonwealth rather than with Charles, and it was considered important to obtain its support for the latter. Before venturing

on the journey, Hyde wrote to "Anselmo Mariano" that he had been informed by Father Peter of the Cross at Antwerp of his singular affection to the King's service. He begs him to enter into correspondence, and to communicate to him while in Spain all important events that may occur in England (September 1649). There is also a letter of Hyde to Father Isidor of St. Joseph, Procurator-General of the Order,[1] asking him to use his influence on behalf of the two ambassadors during their residence at Madrid. How far the two Carmelites complied with Hyde's request does not appear from the latter's autobiography. The journey itself led to no practical result.

In the year 1655 Father Onuphrius came for the third time to England as Visitor-General. On the other hand, Father Anselm in his capacity of Vicar-Provincial held also regular Visitations, and never failed to report to Rome on the state of the mission.

Besides the members of the English Province there lived at times other Carmelites in London, who by their profession belonged to different provinces, though by nationality they were Irish. The first was Father Patrick of St. Columba, from Paris. He probably was on his way to his native country, but owing to technicalities waited in London for papers from Rome. Father Anselm obtained faculties for him from the Ecclesiastical Superiors (there being then no Vicar-Apostolic in England), but before these arrived Father Patrick was carried off by illness (October 1657).

[1] See p. 38, note 1.

Then there was Father Lawrence of St. Thomas. He had probably made his novitiate and studies in Flanders, for he came to England from Zealand. Want of funds prevented his continuing the journey to Ireland, and he remained about a year in London (1656–7), devoting himself in the meantime to missionary work. When at last able to proceed, he chose the diocese of Meath for the field of his labours, and for some months succeeded in avoiding the Puritan zealots. On September 11, 1657, he was taken by the soldiers in the very exercise of the sacred ministry, and kept rigorously confined at Drogheda for three years; the want of air and freedom severely told on his health, and though he regained his liberty he eventually died (October 14, 1661 or 1662) at Dundalk, co. Louth, in consequence of the sufferings endured while in prison.

The third Irish missionary was Father Patrick of St. Brigit. In 1647 he left Rome for Ireland, where he remained six years, at the expiration of which time he went to Flanders. Two years later (1655) he prepared for his return to Ireland, but went no farther than London. Having settled in the metropolis, he commenced his missionary functions with great zeal, but not always with sufficient discretion. Though he changed his lodgings on an average once in three months, he always contrived to gather a large congregation around him. He made numerous conversions, and preached unceasingly. It frequently happened that he just managed to leave his house in time to let the officials break into and search empty rooms. At one time (1658)

he held the chaplaincy to the ambassador of the Grand Duke of Etruria. More than once he was betrayed by false brethren, especially when the first English translation of Pascal's "Provincial Letters" caused such excitement in London that every Catholic was suspected of being a Jesuit in disguise (1657). Father Patrick unquestionably went too far in his zeal. One year, on the feast of St. Theresa, he celebrated a solemn Mass and preached the panegyric of the saint, the Archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Edmund O'Reilly (who died in exile at Paris), assisting at the ceremony and conferring the Sacrament of Confirmation upon a number of people, some among whom assumed the name of the saint; one of them was the daughter of a peer. Father Patrick also wore the Religious habit whenever he could, and even showed himself in it in public. The Bishop of London being informed of these facts, sent one of his chaplains to Father Patrick's lodgings in Rope Alley to warn him not to exercise his ministry so publicly. But he paid no heed to the friendly advice. Consequently the Privy Council sent officials, who found the priest dressed in the habit of his Order, and conducted him and his assistant, Father Thomas of Jesus Mary, before the magistrate, and thence to the Gatehouse in Westminster.[1]

[1] Pepys' Diary, February 16, 1662-63 (O.S.). "It seems a priest was taken in his vests officiating somewhere in Holborne the other day, and was committed by Secretary Morris according to law; and they say the Bishop of London do give him thanks for it." According to Father Patrick's letter, dated Westminster, 23rd 1663 (month not mentioned), the event took place on the 24th ultimo, which means February 24th (N.S.) or 14th (O.S.).

Father Bede of St. Simon Stock addressed a memorial in his favour to the Queen Mother (Henrietta), and through her intercession Father Patrick was sent to Flanders after six months' imprisonment. It is not known what became of him afterwards. In spite of many difficulties and preoccupations, his letters sometimes disclose a humorous trait in his character. "I have made," he writes to a newly elected Superior on June 20, 1656, "eleven conversions, which I offer in the first place to God, and next to your Reverence as a bunch of Mayflowers." On another occasion, the Superiors having informed him that he was to take charge of a mission in the Orkney Islands, he declared himself ready to go "non solum ad Orcades sed vel etiam ad ipsum Orcum per sanctam obedientiam."

To return to Father Anselm. During the years immediately preceding 1660 a number of missionaries died, and at last only four remained. He repeatedly asked to be relieved of his office, however unimportant under the circumstances. Furthermore he endeavoured to obtain a regular subsidy from the Congregation of Propaganda, on the ground that the Carmelite Order had been the means of a considerable increase to its funds, and that English missioners ought not to be less provided for than the missioners in the East, particularly since English Catholics were no longer able to support their pastors, being themselves deprived of the greater part of their revenues. A last request was that Father Bede of St. Simon Stock, then in Italy, should be sent to England. Though he remained

in office for some years after Father Bede's arrival in London, and was even re-elected in 1672, we find no letters from Father Anselm after 1662, while even one bearing this date and his own signature was written by Father Bede. It seems that from that time forward he was suffering severely, which, however, did not prevent him spending all his remaining strength in the service of his neighbour.

On May 16, 1662 (o.s.), he writes to the General: "Some weeks ago several Irish priests, secular and regular, published in London a printed declaration, with their joint signature, promising to be ever obedient and loyal subjects of his Majesty Charles II., and renouncing all other allegiance and authority whatsoever, in terms unnecessarily strong, and hardly respectful to the Papal authority, The prime movers make use of every possible means to compel the English priests to give their adherence to this declaration, saying that it has been approved of by both Houses of Parliament, and that no one should labour on the English Mission who had not subscribed thereto."

The Valesian Controversy, alluded to in this passage as well as in the following document, received its name from Father Peter Walsh, a learned Irish Franciscan, who, in conjunction with Richard Bellings, of Killushly Castle, drew up a "Declaration" whereby Catholics, on the occasion of his accession, assured Charles II. of their allegiance. This protestation of fealty was approved of by a meeting of prominent Catholics held at Dublin, and forwarded to London, where it likewise received the

support of one bishop, several priests, and numerous peers and noblemen. Father Peter Walsh wrote some books and pamphlets in defence of the "Loyal Formulary," or "Irish Remonstrance," as he styled the declaration; but the latter did not meet with the approval of the University of Louvain, while the Holy See twice sent a committee to study the question and hear the parties. It is supposed that the Duke of Ormond was playing a double game, sowing discord among the Catholics themselves. Father Anselm writes on July 18, 1662: "This week the Duke of Ormond, Viceroy of Ireland, has left London for Dublin. . . . They (the promoters of the Declaration) belonged to a party formed by him against the Apostolic Nuncio, and it is thought that all that has happened was done to please the Duke. . . ."

The following account of a journey to Ireland deals largely with this question, which so unfortunately divided the Catholic party. Although anonymous, it may with certainty be ascribed to one of the Superiors of the Irish Carmelites returning to his native country from abroad, most likely Father Cyril of St. Joseph, who had been sent to Rome in 1657, and is stated to have left the Eternal City at the beginning of the following year. He had not arrived in London by July, being probably detained elsewhere for a considerable time, as he was the bearer of important letters from the General. The letter finishes very abruptly, and bears no date, but may be assigned to the year 1662.

"When leaving Rome for Ireland three years ago,

it was understood that I should pass through England. Accordingly I remained in London for two months as the guest of a Catholic gentleman, Dr. Lenthall,[1] a distinguished scholar, especially on matters of religious controversy, as is fully proved by the number of books written by him in English on the subject of Faith and the authority of the Holy Father. While living with him I offered up the Holy Sacrifice every day in a private chapel in his house. Close to it there was a small room, not unlike the cells of our monasteries, and this I chose for myself, though my host had prepared a larger and better furnished room. I had a bed put in it as prescribed by our Rule (*i.e.* a board with some blankets and pillows), which the host showed to all his acquaintances, Catholics and Protestants alike, saying, 'Such are the beds of the Discalced Carmelites; they never use any other during their whole lives.' While living in this house I converted some Protestants, notably his own daughter and sister. The latter was so well versed in Scripture that without hesitation she could quote chapter and verse of any passage which seemingly was in favour of Protestantism. Such was her obstinacy that she

[1] Dr. Lenthall was a Cambridge man (Christ College, afterwards Fellow of Pembroke Hall), and a renowned preacher. After his conversion he studied medicine, and became a physician. In 1657 he and Father John Spencer, S.J., had a conference with Peter Gumming and John Pearson, subsequently Bishops of Ely and Chester, in which they defined the term "Schism," and showed to whom it applied. The outcome was the work published in 1658 under the title, "Schism Unmask'd." Lenthall was still practising in 1663, though the date of his death is uncertain.—*Gillow, Bibl. Dict.*, vol. iv. p. 199.

at first disdained to discuss points of controversy, and would not even allow the name of the Pope to be mentioned in her presence, for she had been imbued with Calvinism from childhood. Gradually I put before her such parts of the Bible as are most conclusive on our side and most inconsistent with Protestant doctrine. The struggle lasted for six weeks, but at length she was received into the fold of Christ, and was filled with such fervour that ever after her conversion she could not speak of the mysteries of Faith or spiritual things without shedding copious tears. After a year she departed this life, fortified by the sacraments, with true contrition for her sins, and an ardent devotion to the Blessed Virgin, whom she called her special patron.

"Having been unsuccessful in my endeavour to obtain through the Queen's favour release from the Valesian Declaration, I decided to continue my journey. From London I proceeded to Chester, having for travelling companions two Irish merchants, a Protestant Doctor of Divinity, and an English lady of rank. On the journey the Irishmen began to discuss religious topics with the clergyman, admitting, however, that they were not sufficiently learned to dispute with him. Yet they declared that they were so fully convinced of the truth of our religion that they were prepared to sacrifice their lives in its defence. They even expressed the hope that he would come to the knowledge of the Catholic Faith and embrace it. Whereupon he answered that this could hardly be expected, since he had been a Protestant from childhood, and would not change his

religion unless he were fully convinced of the truth of the Catholic Church. In confirmation of this he alluded to St. Augustine, who converted Ethelbert not merely by teaching, but also by signs and miracles. Hereupon I seized my opportunity to put in a word, for I had not yet been recognised as a Religious, not even by the two merchants. I asked leave to submit to the clergyman a grave difficulty, namely, how it came that nowadays monks were expelled from England, when historians were agreed that St. Augustine and his companions were Benedictines, sent hither by the Pope; and why the authority of the Pope was denied, whereas the first missioners even wrought miracles in virtue of that selfsame authority? . . . Thus we spent our whole journey in arguments on the articles of the Creed. The young lady who was travelling with us listened attentively to our conversation, and began to express doubt about the safety of Protestant belief, though hitherto she had not been troubled by scruples. She even told the merchants that she would become a Catholic herself, as soon as she could find a priest to instruct her, for she saw on what firm grounds the Catholic Church was built. While still on the road we were joined by her brother, who had come to meet her. Before parting they entertained us at dinner, for we stopped for the night at a place not far from her father's house. I availed myself of the occasion to speak seriously with her about the interests of her soul, and told her that, outside the pale of the Church, there is no salvation. She promised to seek a priest, and thus we parted. As

for the clergyman, he remained in our company all the way to the seaport, where I went on board ship. I advised him to join the Catholic Church, but he replied that in a matter of such deep concern he must act cautiously; on his return to London he would seek such as were more learned than himself, and follow their advice. At length the time came to go on board, and I bade him farewell.

"After two days we experienced a furious gale, but with the help of God we reached the harbour quite safely, though we were nearly wrecked about six miles off Dublin. Having arrived, and returned thanks for our escape, I met, alas, another storm, not caused by winds, but by ambition and by party spirit. Scarcely a day had I been in town, as yet tired from my journey, when Peter Walsh sent two of his friars, in the name of the King and the Viceroy, to sign a certain protest by which, I was told, I pledged my loyalty to the King. I replied that no one could be more anxious than myself to assure his Majesty of my loyalty, not, however, in terms contrary to the teaching of the Church. Not satisfied with this answer, Peter Walsh asked me to appoint time and place for a personal interview, evidently in the hope that he would induce me to give my signature to the 'Declaration.' The meeting took place in presence of Father Stephen of St. Ubald, and Father John of the Mother of God. Having expressed his esteem for the Carmelite Order, and myself in particular, Walsh asked for an explanation of my reluctance to sign the formulary. I declared that I had the welfare of Catholics quite

as much at heart as he, but that, in my opinion, it did not become subjects to prescribe limits to the power of their Superiors, least of all that of the Pope. . . . He now began to expostulate, saying he also was a Christian, and acknowledged the authority of the Pope, but his was a spiritual and not a temporal authority, &c. I brought forward arguments from Scripture whereby it is proved that the power of temporal punishment is vested in the Church, and chiefly in the Supreme Pastor. Walsh declared that it would be impossible for me to remain in Ireland unless I gave my signature to the protest, which I distinctly refused to do. In order to make Catholics believe that the free exercise of religion had been granted on the strength of the 'Declaration,' a chapel was opened, and Mass was said publicly on Christmas-day, at which large numbers assisted, and Peter Walsh himself preached a sermon at 11 A.M. But on the next day chapel and altar were destroyed, some Catholics were publicly insulted, and, as I have been told, the Blessed Sacrament was thrown to the ground; three priests were imprisoned, two of whom, however, having signed the 'Declaration,' were set free again on the twelfth day, while the third, who withheld his signature, is still in gaol in Dublin.

"This goes to show that there is no liberty in Dublin to say Mass in public, or to exercise other ecclesiastical functions. Hence our fathers, and in fact all priests, whether secular or regular, are compelled to act with the greatest prudence. We are six fathers in Dublin, of whom . . . (some words

are obliterated) live together and recite the Divine Office in an undertone, and every week . . . go out to visit the sick and to work for the conversion of heretics. Each one has a fixed place where he says Mass and administers the sacraments. Early in the morning, according to the season, we say Mass in presence of a large audience, then follows an exhortation or instruction on Christian doctrine. If Protestants are present, the Articles of Faith are explained to them; when sufficiently instructed they make their abjuration, and are received into the Church. If there be any who, after having been Catholics, have denied their Faith through fear of persecution or through human frailty, they are absolved from heresy and admitted to the communion of the Faithful. But, out of respect for the sacrament, they go several times to confession before being allowed to approach the altar. During the last three years large numbers have been received into the Church by our fathers, many of of whom I know personally. At the accession of Charles II. there were only 2000 Catholics in Dublin, whereas there are at present 12,000. In other places where our fathers are stationed, as Atboy and Loughrea, conversions are less frequent, because the few Protestants living there are so bigoted that they refuse intercourse with Religious, wherefore the latter confine their labour to the Catholic portion of the population. Yet even there conversions sometimes take place."

Little is known of the last few years of Father Anselm. He was still actively engaged in missionary

work when Father Louis of St. Theresa, Definitor-Provincial of Paris, came to London for the purpose of a Canonical Visitation on behalf of the General, Father Philip of the Blessed Trinity.[1] There were at that time (October 1668) only five Carmelites in England, three in London, one at, or near, Oxford, and one at Hereford. Father Louis mentions in his reports that the Confraternity of the Brown Scapular numbered as many as 313 members. He also took a note of all the manuscripts belonging to the mission, which upon his return he communicated to the learned compiler of the *Bibliotheca Carmelitana*.

"At the time of the Civil War," writes Father

[1] Father Louis of St. Theresa (1602–1671) was the author of several works on the history of the Carmelite Order (see p. 19, note 1). An excellent preacher and prudent administrator, he held in turn all the highest offices of his Province, and also acted as Visitor-General of Flanders, England, Ireland and Holland; he was, moreover, entrusted by the Holy See with important negotiations.

Father Philip of the Blessed Trinity (1603–1671), a native of Avignon, lived for twelve years in the East as missionary. Returning to Europe in 1640, he was elected to the offices of Prior and Provincial, and twice to that of General. Among his numerous works, which are written in elegant Latin, a "*Summa Philosophica*," in four large volumes, a "*Summa Theologiæ Mysticæ*" in three, and a "*Summa Theologiæ Thomisticæ*," in five volumes, have become widely known even outside his Order. In his historical works he claims for his Order many ancient saints, on the principle that all Religious who lived previous to the establishment of the Basilian and Benedictine Orders must have been Carmelites, whereas the organisation of Orders only took place in the Middle Ages. Yet in this he is not guilty of so much credulity as a writer in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* (9th ed. vol. v. p. 116), which, under the heading "*Carmelites*," takes as serious one of the most foolish satires written by a Voltairian. Father Philip was an accomplished linguist, speaking fluently French (his native language), Italian, Spanish, Portuguese, Persian and Arabic, besides the classical languages.

Bede, in his memoir on Father Anselm's life, "he accompanied the King's troops, together with a Jesuit. Being the only priests in the whole army, they were kept very busy administering the sacraments to the soldiers. Father Anselm was a tall man of imposing presence, an energetic preacher, and a prudent and kind confessor, as is proved by the great number of his penitents and converts. No other priest administered the sacraments to so many persons as he did. The Archbishop of Canterbury (Sheldon) was very familiar with him, and was always pleased to receive his visits. One day a Jesuit asked Father Anselm to introduce him to the Primate. The latter inquired who the stranger was, and upon Father Anselm answering that he was a great theologian, the Archbishop took Father Anselm into the library, where they conversed privately for a long time, while the Jesuit remained in the reception-room. When they returned the Archbishop said: 'I have just been making my confession to Father Anselm, and he gave me a very small penance,' thus ridiculing the sacrament as though he believed in it, but did not practise it through human respect.

"Father Anselm, though by nature rather impetuous, seems to have received the gift of tears, for during the last three or four years of his life he confessed his sins over and over again, weeping bitterly for them." Already in 1662 he complained of illness, and in 1670 he was so much worn out with suffering that Father Bede thought him not far from death. Nevertheless he recovered, though at times his pain was so excruciating that by pressing

his forehead against the wall during the paroxysms of suffering he left a deep impression on the plaster. The patience with which he bore his illness was exemplary. When the pain became less intense his natural happy disposition would manifest itself at once.

"During the last six months of his life," says Father Lucian, "I frequently drove out with him to please him, and all the calls he made had no other object than to bid farewell to his friends, for he could say with St. Peter: 'I am assured that the laying away of my tabernacle is close at hand.' He was much tied down to his room for many years, principally towards the end of his life, with the great concourse of Catholics who came to visit him, because they had no other priest to go to, the persecution (Oates' Plot) being then at its height. I was the only member of the Order who could approach him, and thus became his confessor. He even found means to make the Spiritual Exercises, living as retired as was compatible with his obligations. When he could no longer walk or stand at the altar, he used to sit in an armchair in the chapel. He remained conscious to the last, and being fully aware that the end was near, begged me to give him the last sacraments, which he received a few hours before death, with great devotion and with abundant tears, answering himself to all the prayers. He died at the age of seventy-six, at the residence of Count Egmont, Ambassador of Spain at St. James's, on Wednesday in Holy Week, 16th April 1679 (o.s.), and was buried on Good Friday in the cemetery of St. Giles's. His remains were accompanied to

the grave by the entire household of the Ambassador, and many of his former penitents, although Catholics were so much abhorred by Protestants that it was all but impossible to obtain a tomb in consecrated ground, and Catholics scarcely dared show themselves in the streets."[1]

[1] Father Anselm published a small book, "Manual for the Confraternity of the Holy Scapular," Delphis, 1652.

CHAPTER IX

FATHER GERVASIUS OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT (WALTER LUDDINGTON)

Birth of the missioner—At Oxford—Conversion—Missionary work in England—Letters—Death.

WALTER LUDDINGTON, or, as he sometimes called himself, Smith, was born at Worcester of Protestant parents, Robert Luddington and Lætitia Woodward, about the year 1600. He received his primary education at home, and was afterwards sent to Oxford, where he matriculated on 12th December 1617 as a commoner of Balliol College. On 8th June 1621 he took his B.A. degree, and on 16th April 1624 the M.A. degree, being then described as of Broadgates Hall. He read Divinity and paid special attention to the writings of the fathers, and also to the works of Catholic Theologians, so that, after a time, he became unsettled in his Protestant ideas. He allowed himself no rest until he had fully investigated the points of controversy, and satisfied himself with regard to the Divine origin of the Catholic Church, which he joined without delay. His next step was to leave England and enter the English College at Douay, where he spent two years studying philosophy. Having by chance taken up

the works of St. Theresa, he was so deeply impressed by her praise of the Order of Carmel, that he sought the acquaintance of the Carmelite fathers who had a monastery at Douay. After a short time spent there, he proceeded to the novitiate house at Louvain, where he took the habit, assuming the name of Gervasius of the Blessed Sacrament. During the novitiate he distinguished himself by simplicity and fervour, so that he was admitted to profession on 29th June 1630, whereupon he resumed his studies, which he completed with brilliant success.

After an absence of eleven years, he returned to England in 1638, but ere long found himself exposed to persecution, as appears from his letters, of which several are preserved. They are written partly in Italian, partly in Spanish, signed sometimes *Baptista de Andrada,* probably the name of a secretary of the Spanish Ambassador, but at other times only by a monogram representing the letters G. S. So. (Gervasius a Sanctissimo Sacramento). The military terms they contain were undoubtedly chosen in order to mislead the reader, should they fall into unauthorised hands.

May 31, 1641. "Blessed be the Divine Majesty Who in time of such trouble and affliction has consoled us by the news of your election. We live in a time when it is not safe to make known the things that are taking place. However, in the name of my *comrades* I congratulate you upon your election as *General of the army* (Father Paul Simon, who had been elected General for the third time), I, in particular, being thankful to the *Junta* (the Chapter-

General) for this result. Your lordship has already been informed by others of the things concerning Flanders and the Irish people, wherefore I will only add a word about those who are of the same Faith as ourselves. The Capuchins who are living here in virtue of the marriage contract of the King, serving the Queen's chapel, kept it locked for some days past for fear of riots. If Catholics go to Mass they are ridiculed and abused, even stones are thrown at them, and last Sunday many were cast into prison. The *Alguaziles de los barios* (guards at the gates), as also many pursuivants (officials held in much dislike) hold warrants on the strength of which they dragged several priests to gaol and before the Courts of Justice. I am staying at a safe place, if there is such in England (probably the Spanish Embassy)." Having given some information concerning the confiscation of Catholic property, he continues: "Many Catholics are emigrating to America, especially Virginia, and they have asked me to accompany them. They will sail at the beginning of August. I should like to have your opinion and approval; there is a companion of mine whom I wish to take with me (Father Bede).

"The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland was beheaded the other day, a man most eminent for talent, prudence and candour;[1] and proceedings against the Archbishop of Canterbury have begun,[2] for

[1] Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, the firmest support of the monarchy, was beheaded on Tower Hill on 12th May 1641.

[2] William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, at the opening of the Long Parliament, was impeached for high treason by the Commons and imprisoned in the Tower for three years. He was then brought

whom those in power have nothing but hatred, calling him among other contemptuous names the Lambeth Pope, whom they make responsible for the mismanagement of the kingdom. Religion is being daily discussed, and this very evening I have received a new Creed in print. All my *comrades* are well.—Your Lordship's unworthy servant,

"G. S. So."

Two letters having been lost, the next is dated 12th July 1641. "Count Rosetti, the Pope's Envoy, has left London for Dunkirk by order of Parliament, the King placing a royal galley at his service. The persecution against Catholics is making headway. One of my friends was summoned and fined 250 ducats, and also despoiled of a good deal of valuable plate. Feasts are no longer observed except the Lord's day; but the eves of the ancient feasts are still kept as play-days by the schools. The Brownists, Separatists, Anabaptists, and Puritans are growing ever more insolent, especially when they find a Protestant clergyman using the surplice. They then begin brawling in the churches, mimicking the ceremonies, deprecating the Book of Common Prayer, and blaspheming the sign of the Cross, which the rubrics prescribe to be traced at baptism on the forehead of the infant, the fanatics calling it the

to trial before the Lords, who found no treason in the charges made against him. The Lower House thereupon changed the impeachment into an ordinance for his execution, to which the Peers were compelled to assent. A pardon which Laud produced from the King was disregarded, and the sentence was carried out on Tower Hill on 10th January 1645.

sign of the Beast. Their ideal is a church without Bishops, Chapters, Prebendaries, Canons, Precentors, and dignitaries of whatsoever kind, whose revenues they wish to be applied to schools, almshouses, and other charitable institutions, allowing the actual incumbents a life rent; their scheme, moreover, provides for a committee of six clergymen and as many laymen in each Province to govern the local churches. The University of Oxford has presented a memorial to Parliament urging the retention of the episcopacy and the ecclesiastical government of the Church, for which many reasons are brought forward, among others that there has been an uninterrupted succession of bishops from the time of the Apostles to the present day."

July 19, 1641. "Many Catholics take the oath acknowledging the Royal supremacy, and conform to the Protestant Church in order to avoid punishment." On 1st November we hear of the martyrdom of Father Ambrose Barlow, a Benedictine, which took place at Lancaster on 10th September. "Thanks to Our Lord," the writer continues, "the feast of St. Theresa was celebrated most solemnly with a large attendance, and the Octave day was like the feast day itself. There is an exceeding great devotion to the saint in this country. You would render us a great service in obtaining Indulgences for certain days in the year, instead of local Indulgences which we cannot gain here, there being no consecrated churches. I was able to proclaim a Plenary Indulgence for the feast of St. Theresa, but we are not certain what other Indulgences we may

gain, and yet there is no nation so deserving of them as ours. There is no safety here either for life or property, great being the riotousness of the populace, who hold Catholics in extreme abhorrence, so that it may truly be said of us: "We are like sheep led to the slaughter," and the words have become true: "The hour cometh that whosoever killeth you will think that he doth a service to God."

This is the last letter we have from Father Gervase, and little is known of the remainder of his life. According to the Chronicle he "converted many to the Catholic Faith, guiding them by word and example, availing himself of every occasion to render service to his neighbour, and seeking his own happiness in doing good to others. He also suffered many hardships, being compelled to wander from place to place, sometimes late at night. But whether flying from the priest-hunters, or in search of the lost sheep of his flock, he always travelled on foot. At the time of the Civil Wars he fell into the hands of the Puritans, and was thrown into a dungeon, where he underwent much hardship with the utmost patience; eventually he made good his escape and resumed his works of charity, in which he persevered for about twenty years."

On 19th March 1646 Father Anselm writes that Father Gervase is in Shropshire, and that he frequently sends messages to London. Soon afterwards (6th November of the same year) we find him in or near Worcester, his native town. Being elected procurator of the mission in 1655, he acquitted himself so well of his duties that his brethren desired

him to be entrusted with the entire administration of the Province. But before any further step could be taken he was carried away by a short illness. "On 25th May 1658," writes Father Anselm, "Father Gervase departed this life at his residence at Hilderstone, Staffordshire (where he was chaplain to the family of Gerard of Bromley), after having laboured for about twenty years on the English Mission with great profit to souls. As he had always led an edifying life, so he slept piously in the Lord. I humbly ask the customary prayers for his soul."

The Chronicle adds some details. "When the day of his death approached he gave himself to God and things Divine with more than usual fervour. At first his illness was so slight that the physicians made no account of it; but suddenly it increased and became malignant, all the remedies proving useless, and fever having set in, the strength of the patient gave way. Soon after having received the last sacraments, he rendered his soul to God. He was held in great reputation for the sanctity of his life, so that all those who assisted at his deathbed kept some of his hair or clothes as relics. Among others a pious old woman attributed her cure to the use of some article of clothing belonging to this good father."

Father Peter of the Cross

Although not a member of the English Mission, Father Peter of the Cross spent some years in England as a missioner. His family name was Peter van

Valckenisse, and he was born in 1603 at Antwerp his father being Philip, Lord (Seigneur) of Heymissen. A sister of Father Peter's, born on the 19th of May 1605, became a Carmelite nun at Antwerp, and took the name of Mary Margaret of the Angels. In 1645 she was sent to Oirschot to establish a new convent. Having attained the highest degree of sanctity, even to receiving the Sacred stigmata, she died on 5th February 1658. Her body remained incorrupt until the French Revolution, when it was destroyed. Sister Mary Margaret is called "Venerable," her process of canonisation having been begun in the eighteenth century.

Father Peter made his profession at Brussels on 5th October 1624, and after having finished his course of studies, became Prior of St. Albert's monastery at Louvain (1634–36), but was compelled to resign his office on account of ill health. Recommended to try the English climate for a change, he came to London in 1640 and took up his abode with the great painter Anthony van Dyck, to whom he was related, and who was then living at Blackfriars in grand style. Father Peter did not allow himself to be prevented by his illness from pastoral work among the numerous Belgians, Italians and Spaniards in London, and being well versed in their languages, he was able to do much good. "His word and example," says the chronicler, "led many to reform their own lives. The modesty of his demeanour seemed to compel all those around him to conform to his manners." Van Dyck died in 1641, and Father Peter left London shortly after, hoping

to find at Paris the cure which he had failed to obtain in England. Later on we meet him at Antwerp,[1] where he became acquainted with Thomas Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon. Finally he devoted himself to missionary work in Holland, and died at Leyden 9th January 1671, although in a work printed in 1665 his "premature death" had already been lamented.

We must not omit to say a few words on some English Carmelites who lived and died abroad.

1. Father Valentine of the Mother of God, said to have belonged to a noble English family—even of princely rank—joined the Order in Sicily, together with three Irishmen. While pursuing the study of theology at Palermo, he appears to have had a secret admonition of impending death, for he applied himself with such earnestness to the practice of virtue that he became a model of religious perfection. Having been seized by a malignant fever, he died on 24th September 1634.

2. On 6th May 1643 there died at Huy in Belgium Brother Augustine of the Purification, lay brother, an Englishman of the name of Victor Law. He was forty years of age, having made his profession at Brussels on 2nd February 1630.

3. Brother Protasius of St. Eliseus, whose family name was Francis Challoner, son of William Challoner and Martha Knight, of Bristol, born about 1604, made his profession at Louvain on 24th June 1630, and died at Antwerp on 5th August 1676. "He was," says the obituary notice, "a single-minded and

[1] See p. 121.

straightforward man, endowed with a very delicate conscience. Being a lover of silence and mortification, he spent all his leisure hours in his cell in humble prayer. So punctual was he, that while exercising the office of bell-ringer for many years, he never once was known to have miscalculated the time. He also was a model of humility and charity."

4. Father Bede of St. Thomas Aquinas, otherwise Matthew Francis Hodgson, was a nephew of Robert Watkinson, who suffered martyrdom on 20th April 1602. His parents, William Hodgson and Ann Watkinson, were Catholics living at Oxford, where their children, one daughter and three sons, of whom Matthew was the youngest, received their first education. At the death of his father in 1644, Matthew, being then fourteen years old, went to London and soon afterwards to Brussels, and finally to Rome, where he entered the English College in October 1647, and took Holy Orders in March and April 1654. On 13th September of the same year he left for England, but shortly after went to Belgium, where he joined the Carmelite Order, the date of his profession being 12th March 1656. He was most conscientious in the observance of the Rule even in its minutest details, regular in the fulfilment of the choir duties, full of charity, especially towards his sick brethren, affable in conversation, patient and forbearing. His childlike innocence and delicacy of conscience were attributed to his great devotion towards the Blessed Virgin. He died at Bruges on 6th July 1667, and was buried, at his own request, in the vault beneath the Lady Chapel.

CHAPTER X

FATHER JOHN BAPTIST OF MOUNT CARMEL (JOHN RUDGELEY)

Conversion—Studies—Frequent imprisonment—The Carmelite Order—Labours at Wells (Somerset)—The Civil War—Latter days and death.

JOHN RUDGELEY, born 27th April 1587, was a living illustration of the words of St. Paul, "in prisons frequently." When admitted to the English College in Rome in 1607, he gave the following account of his early years:—

"My father is a learned lawyer, a Protestant, my mother a Catholic; both are of good birth. I have an elder brother, Thomas, a Catholic, two younger brothers and six sisters, as far as I know all Protestants. I have several relations, one called Stonor, others Lenthall, others Atkinson; Mr. Southcott, a Catholic, is my guardian. My maternal aunt is also a Catholic, but not so my uncle.

"I studied humanities at St. Omer, although I had been a Protestant from childhood, and even led a reckless life when a youth. My conversion was brought about in the following way: My guardian, Mr. Southcott, taught me to make the sign of the cross, and though I did not know its meaning, nor

the reason why I traced it, I never failed doing so, especially before going to bed. When going out I noticed some women blessing themselves on meeting me, which set me thinking whether after all it could be a good thing. For I still went to the Protestant Church, until at last the same gentleman arranged that I should go to St. Omer for my studies, where I was received into the Catholic Church by Father George Douley.[1] I spent four years and a half there, and am now sent to Rome for my higher studies. It is my sincere wish to become a priest." According to the diary of the College he entered under the name of Burgess on 16th October 1607, and took the missionary oath on 24th August 1608, received Minor orders in September and October of the same year, was ordained Sub-deacon and Deacon in March, and Priest on 6th April 1612, and left for England on 30th April 1614, having completed his studies and given much edification at the College.[2]

"It could hardly be believed," says the chronicler, "with what fervour he entered upon his missionary career, and how fearlessly he pursued a labour so full of danger. Ere long he was apprehended by the King's officers and thrown into a dungeon, where he remained three years or more, suffering great hardships and privations. The place of his imprisonment, Wisbeach Castle, was far away from the residence of his friends, and the air was most unhealthy on account of the surrounding swamps.

[1] Father William Warneford, *alias* George Douley, S.J.

[2] Foley, "Records," vol. i. p. 183, and vol. vi. p. 247.

Yet, in spite of the dreariness of the confinement, he was so joyful that his fellow-prisoners were cheered by his presence. He never omitted saying Mass, hearing confessions, and administering the Holy Eucharist to such Catholics as were in the same prison or came to see him. At last he was set free through the intercession of Count Gondomar, the Spanish Ambassador, on condition of his leaving England, with which he forthwith complied. After a short time he reappeared, resuming with characteristic zeal his former labours for the salvation of souls. While engaged in this work, and reaping plentiful fruit, he was apprehended a second time and committed to prison, together with several other priests. After a few months his friends succeeded in obtaining his release. For greater safety he restricted his sphere of action to country places, where he revived the Faith of poor Catholics by daily exhortations and the frequent administration of the sacraments. He also received many people into the Church. Having fallen a third time into the hands of his enemies he was banished the realm, but found no rest in Flanders, where he had sought a refuge. He returned to England only to be cast into prison again, but having bribed the warders fled to Ireland, where he carried out a resolution he had taken some time previously, namely, that of entering the Carmelite Order, which then possessed a novitiate at Dublin. It is recorded that during the year of probation he gave every satisfaction, particularly by punctuality and recollectedness. Sometime after his profession, probably in the summer of 1634, he

returned to England, where he resumed the missionary labours once more.

"He lived for a number of years at Wells in Somerset, and made frequent excursions to the neighbouring villages, where he assisted the Catholics. He always went on foot, summer and winter, sometimes to a distance of fifty miles, and shrank from no labour so long as he was able to do good to the members of his flock. During Lent he used to give instructions on Catholic belief, which were eagerly followed by Protestants and Catholics alike, and were attended with excellent results.

"While thus engaged the Civil War broke out, which, despite high-sounding phrases of God's glory and liberty of the Gospel, only revealed the hatred of Puritans against the Catholic Church, and resulted in the spoliation of Catholics. Father John Baptist among others was deprived of everything he possessed, and had to fly into Wales to save his life. As soon as the greatest danger was over he returned to his flock; but, being recognised as a priest, was apprehended and committed to prison; some of his friends, contriving to bribe the gaolers, restored him to liberty."

In speaking of Father Eliseus, we have alluded to Father John Baptist at his residence in Wells, but such was the watchfulness of the heretics that he was obliged to withdraw from that district as soon as he found another Religious to take his place there.

"He set out on his journey, and, having safely reached London, returned to his Apostolic labours,

visiting the sick, consoling the oppressed, instructing the ignorant, converting Protestants, and confirming Catholics in their faith. In the midst of these labours he was one night surprised by two apostates, who dragged him to prison, where he underwent cruel treatment, which, however, did not affect his patience and constancy of soul." Father Anselm, in a letter, dated December 11, 1657, gives the following account of the event: "I have to inform you of the sad news of the imprisonment of Father John Baptist, a member of this mission, who was apprehended last week by an apostate, who is now raging against the religion he has abandoned. Being well acquainted with priests and their dwelling-places, he arrested not less than nine in a single night (a Carmelite, a Jesuit, a Benedictine, two Franciscans, and four secular priests), who have to appear in court next week; and if it can be proved that they are priests, they will be sentenced to death according to the laws of the land. We shall soon know what is to happen, and I shall keep you informed." The same apostate, we learn from another source, threatened Father Anselm himself, so that for a time he had to withdraw from all outside intercourse and remain within the precincts of the Embassy.

From Father Patrick's letter, dated January 1, 1658,[1] we learn that some of these priests were sent to Windsor Castle, while others were detained at St. James's Palace, but he gives no information as to Father John Baptist's fate. Father Anselm's

[1] See p. 122.

letter of February 12, 1658 (o.s.), is more explicit: "About two months ago Father John Baptist was taken prisoner, together with some others, on suspicion of being priests. It was then thought that they would be brought before the judge at the approaching assizes, and that, according to the nature of the indictment and the evidence, they would be either discharged or sentenced to death. They have been examined several times, but always remanded, and are still in prison. Some members of the Privy Council proposed that they should be sent to Barbadoes,[1] but others objected, on the ground that there was no conviction, only suspicion."

Again, on June 4, 1658: "Father John Baptist is still in prison. Although I have tried every means there is little hope of his being set free."

The writer of the Chronicle adds: "Having remained in prison for several months, he was released by the Secretary of the Common Wealth on condition that he would present himself when called upon. No sooner did he find himself at liberty than he renewed his efforts for the salvation of souls, remaining in London all the time the plague lasted, insuring for many people spiritual as well as temporal comfort. He wrote some Meditations for every day in the week, which were printed and distributed among his friends. He also translated into English a book of the Venerable Father John of Jesus Mary, to which he gave the title *Via Vitæ*, but the manuscript was lost when he was robbed of his books and

[1] Numbers of Catholics, men, women, and children, were sent to the Barbadoes as slaves.

vestments soon after his arrival in London. Being already over eighty years of age, he was attacked by fever, which speedily assumed an alarming phase. He asked for and received the last sacraments, and slept in the Lord on March 1, 1669, and was buried in the church of St. Pancras, near the City of London, where rest many other Religious and priests."

One might apply to him what the Breviary says of St. Athanasius: "Having escaped all these great dangers with the help of God, he met with a peaceful end."[1]

The church of St. Pancras, on the site of the Midland terminus, became endeared to Catholics on account of its being the last place wherein Mass was celebrated after the suppression of the ancient Faith, and its churchyard, until recent times, was the most favoured by Catholics for the interment of their dead. The Cardinal Duke of York founded a daily Mass in the church of St. Pancras in Rome, for the souls of all the Catholics interred in the churchyard of St. Pancras in London.

[1] "Ac denique ex tot tantisque periculis divinitus ereptus . . . mortuus est in suo lectulo." May 2, Lect. vi.

CHAPTER XI

FATHER JOSEPH OF ST. MARY (NICHOLAS RIDER)

The novitiate in Dublin—Father Joseph is sent to England—Martyrdom of Brother Angelus—The Carmelite school at Hereford—The Oates Plot—Missionary labours in London—Death of Father Joseph.

NICHOLAS RIDER was born in Dublin about the year 1600, of English parents. Nothing is known of his youth beyond the fact of his having entered the Carmelite novitiate in his native city, presumably about 1630, and of having distinguished himself, both before and after his profession, by the fervent observance of the Rule. As an Englishman, the Irish Provincial sent him on the English Mission, his first station, from 1641 until at least 1646, being somewhere in Wales, and there, in the latter year, he was assisted by Father Elias. Previous to that time, however, he had paid a short visit to Dublin, having for a travelling companion a young man, George Halley, who intended entering the Irish novitiate. As this Religious belonged to the English Province, we may here insert a short account of his martyrdom. Born at Hereford about 1620, of pious and respectable parents, he went to Ireland to enter the Carmelite

Order, and exchanged his name for that of the great martyr, St. Angelus, who was slain on 5th May 1220 by a man whom he had charitably reprehended for his crimes. It is said that Brother Angelus during his novitiate was beloved by all, on account of his angelic modesty and the most exact observance of the Rule. After profession he was sent to Drogheda, where the Irish Carmelites had opened a small priory in the ruins of the ancient monastery, and where the newly professed were instructed in logic and the other philosophical sciences. During the siege of the town Brother Angelus remained there, but after the capitulation he fled to a strong fort in county Louth, which in its turn fell into the hands of Viscount Melfont, the conqueror promising liberty to all prisoners except Brother Angelus, owing to his nationality. He threatened him with death unless he renounced his Faith, but in the event of his apostasy held out to him the prospect of riches and dignities. Brother Angelus remained steadfast, and consequently was sentenced to death by the Council of War which had been hastily summoned. While preparations were being made for the carrying out of the sentence, the young Religious strengthened himself by prayer. Accompanied by a detachment of soldiers, he proceeded to the place of execution, singing the litany of Our Lady. A Puritan minister urged the venerable martyr to abandon the Catholic religion and to embrace the Reform. But in vain, for the only answer he received from Brother Angelus was, "Avaunt, Satan!" Arrived at the place of execution, the victim was tied to a post and the

soldiers took their aim. The signal given, the muskets were discharged, and three balls struck the brother in the breast. The guardian of the Capuchins at Drogheda, Father Nugent, who had contrived to visit him in prison and to hear his last confession, was a witness of the martyrdom, and supplied the Superiors of the Order with a detailed account of all the circumstances. In the monastery at Linz in Austria, there is an oil-painting representing Brother Angelus and two other Irish martyrs, Father Thomas Aquinas of St. Theresa and Brother Peter of the Mother of God, who suffered death about the same time.

Some time after 1646, though the exact date is not known, Father Joseph left his residence in Wales and took up his abode near Hereford. Father Bede (Travers) has left the following account of this Religious: "After some years' experience on the English Mission I went to visit Father Joseph at his residence in Herefordshire, over a hundred (Italian) miles from London. He led a very retired and solitary life, being already an old man (the visit took place about 1665), giving spiritual help to a few scattered Catholics. I thought it well to charge him with the education of Catholic youths, so that by teaching them Latin, and bringing them up in the practice of Christian virtue, he might train them for the religious life. Soon after my return to London I sent him eight or ten boys, for whom their parents paid sixty ducats a year for board, lodging and clothes. From this seminary I sent, at various times, ten candidates to our novi-

tiate houses in Flanders, Paris, Rome and Venice, of whom five are at present engaged on the English Mission. As soon as they had studied the Latin grammar with Father Joseph, I sent them to Bruges to study Rhetoric, and thence to the novitiate. When the persecution extended to the country, and his safety was endangered, Father Joseph came to London, where he continued his work for some years with such success that he had as many as eighteen pupils, sons of rich and noble Catholics. But at last a Protestant minister interfered, and compelled the father to relinquish so holy and useful a work. Useful indeed, because he had an excellent method of forming his pupils both in regard to science and to morals, and useful also to our Order, for twelve of the boys became Discalced Carmelites. He now retired, for safety, to the residence of the Spanish Ambassador, where I also had to seek a refuge on two different occasions when in danger."

The Chronicle furnishes further particulars: "Father Joseph, who at that time (1679) had under his direction some Catholic youths, whom he instructed in the knowledge of their religion and in grammar, was apprehended and brought, first, before a magistrate, and then before higher authority, at whose hands he experienced kind treatment. For he was a venerable old man, much respected by his neighbours, and not charged with high treason. He therefore was allowed to be bailed out, a favour which not many prisoners shared with him. Some distinguished Protestants were

his sureties. Rightly foreseeing that such a personal favour might be withdrawn at any moment, he dismissed his pupils, closed his establishment, and betook himself to the residence of the Spanish Ambassador, where Father Anselm, Prefect of the Chapel, or Chaplain Major, as they call it, offered him refuge and protection; and there he remained until death."

"From the moment Father Joseph found a shelter at the Spanish Embassy," writes Father Lucian, himself one of his former pupils, "he never once left the house, nor did he ever descend the stairs, until his body was borne out to be committed to the grave. But he soon made many acquaintances, and served God in serving his neighbour. He arranged his private chapel in the most tasteful way, and had fixed hours for Mass, which he never omitted until within three or four days of his death. He spent the whole day before the altar with the exception of meal times and a short rest after dinner, and was ever ready to receive and comfort those visiting him. At this time there were very few English priests in London, owing to the violent persecution. He frequently received Lady Powis,[1] sister of the Marquis of Dorchester,[2] and Lord Arundel,[3] each of whom, esteeming Father Joseph on account of his saintliness, subscribed a weekly allowance for

[1] Eleanor, daughter of Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, and wife of William Herbert, first Baron Powis.

[2] The only sister of the first Marquis of Dorchester was Frances, wife of Philip Rolleston, Esq.

[3] Henry, subsequently seventh Duke of Norfolk, who died in 1701.

his maintenance. Many other persons of the highest nobility visited him, while numbers came to him for the reception of the sacraments. After his death, hundreds accompanied his remains to the cemetery, so that it was a matter of great surprise to Protestants that in such disturbed times the burial of a simple Religious could occasion so much solemnity. The Spanish Ambassador, Don Pedro Ronquilio, had been repeatedly warned by the King against entertaining English priests for the spiritual comfort of his Catholic subjects (which at that time could only apply to Father Joseph, there being no other English priest attached to the Embassy), but he would not allow himself to be influenced by the royal threats, and continued his protection and gave unmistakable signs of his veneration for the person of the aged priest. He visited him in his private room, contrary to etiquette, assured him of his goodwill, and even gave orders that everything required should be supplied from his own kitchen and stores. Father Joseph had ever been zealous for the good of the mission, especially during the latter years of his life, when he was filled with anxiety by reason of the persecution. He experienced a singular consolation whenever he saw any of his brethren in religion, and treated them with the greatest affection. A few years before his death, the ordinary subject of his meditation was the end of man, and whenever I entered his room his first words were : 'I expect until my change come.' His death was painless, and due to his great age. He was not confined to bed, or otherwise hindered

from celebrating Mass or administering the sacraments except during the last two or three days. He even could speak within a quarter of an hour before the end. Thus he peacefully rendered his soul to its Creator on the Feast of St. Thomas of Canterbury (29th December 1682), at six o'clock in the morning, at the age of eighty years, more than half of which he had spent on the English Mission. He was buried with great solemnity in the cemetery of St. Giles's, not far from his brother in religion, Father Anselm."

CHAPTER XII

FATHER CONSTANTINE OF THE CROSS (WILLIAM RUDGE)

Birth, education, and ordination of the missioner—He becomes a Discalced Carmelite—His career on the English Mission.

THE diary of the English College in Rome contains the following entry:—

"No. 801. Dowrich, William (otherwise Rudge), Devon, aged nineteen years and a half, confirmed, was received among the commoners of Pope Urban VIII. by order of Cardinal Barberini, Protector of the College, under Rev. Father Thomas Courtney, Rector of the same, on 1st November 1642. He received the first tonsure and Minor orders in our chapel on 21st June 1643, was ordained Subdeacon on 24th November 1647, Deacon on 1st December at St. Peter's, and Priest on 8th December in the church of St. Bonaventure. He left for the monastery of Our Lady of La Scala on 27th April 1648." At the margin: "He took the oath under both forms on 14th May 1643. So be it. William Dowrich."

From this student's replies to the usual questions, it appears that he was the son of Michael Rudge, of Leigh, and his wife Ann, second daughter of Thomas Dowrich. He was born at Nimpton,

Devonshire, but had lived chiefly in Surrey with his parents, who, though belonging to good families, had become impoverished on account of their religion. He had several brothers and two sisters, who were Catholics. Many of his relations were rich, but all Protestants. He studied humanities at St. Omer's College. Though a Catholic from his birth, he lived for some time in schism, not being acquainted with any priests, and because his first master was a Protestant. He left England in 1639.

According to the Pilgrim-book of the English College, he arrived there on 12th November 1642. But admission to the College was for some time deferred, as usual.[1]

Father Bede of St. Simon Stock assigns the reasons which led Rudge to leave the College and enter the Carmelite Order. He says: "While these matters were being arranged [his own transfer from the College to La Scala], the Prior said to me that he would not admit me unless I was accompanied by another pupil of the College who likewise desired to take the Carmelite habit. These words, spoken in jest, proved to be real earnest, for I, burning with the desire of becoming a friar, confided my resolution to another student, a fellow-countryman of mine with whom I had contracted an intimate friendship. His answer was that for a long time past he had been thinking of embracing the religious state, but was still undecided as to the choice of an Order. I told him something about the Car-

[1] Foley, "Records," vol. vi. pp. 357 and 624.

melites, which pleased him very much, and soon after this conversation he accompanied me on one of my visits to La Scala, and, on talking the subject over with the General, his vocation was decided once for all. He was a student of theology, in priest's orders, and, having made his religious profession, in due time was sent on the English Mission."

Things, however, did not come to pass quite as quickly or as smoothly as might appear from the above passage. The students of the English College took an oath to the effect that "so long as they shall remain in the College, and even after they have left it, for whatever reason that may be, whether their studies be completed or not, they will not enter any Religious Order, Society, or Congregation without special licence from the Apostolic See or the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, nor will they become professed in any such." William Dowrich, as he was called at the College, drew up a petition to the Pope in the following terms: "William Dowrich, Englishman, pupil of the English College in Rome, humbly prays your Holiness for a dispensation from the missionary oath, so that he may enter and be professed in the Order of the Scalzi, to which he feels himself called. He desires most earnestly to correspond with his vocation, with a mind and intention to go to England for the conversion of Protestants. The General of the said Order promises to further this holy resolution as soon as he has made his profession and completed his studies in theology and controversy." The petition was returned with the remark: "After having com-

pleted their course of philosophy and theology, the Collegians are bound to remain in England for three years without entering any Religious Order."

However, the petitioner, so far from losing courage, renewed his application, and obtained the dispensation through the intervention of Cardinal Caraffa.

Father Rudge entered the novitiate of La Scala on April 27, 1648, and made his profession on June 3 of the following year, having given every satisfaction during the year of probation. He remained for some time afterwards at the novitiate, where he continued his pious exercises with great fervour, and acquired the esteem of all the members of the community by his perfect religious deportment. But ere long his health began to fail, and the first symptoms of consumption induced the physicians to advise change of climate.

Accordingly, he was sent to Belgium, but the result was not satisfactory, for the disease only increased, and it was decided that he should try his native air as a last resource. The voyage was anything but pleasant, owing to the state of weakness to which he was reduced. He arrived in London some time in 1652, and thence proceeded to Devonshire, where he received a hearty welcome from his relatives. He undertook the pastoral office with surprising vigour, and soon endeared himself, not alone to Catholics, but also to Protestants, who could not but admire his meekness and piety.

The first objects of his Apostolical zeal were his own relatives, his mother, his father, and a sister, on whom he bestowed all the solicitude of the priest

and all the care of a brother. Having lost in quick succession those nearest to him, he devoted himself to the welfare of his flock. There were many Catholics scattered through the country, so that he had often to undertake long journeys, even in winter, to visit the sick poor, and to bestow the consolations of religion on the inhabitants of the district. He also found means to dispense temporal assistance to the needy. The Chronicle of the mission records that he was instrumental in securing the salvation of many souls, and that he shrank from no labour in the exercise of his pastoral duties. Summer and winter he made his monthly visitation to the villages and hamlets, which implied each time a journey, on foot, of thirty Italian miles. While thus engaged in administering the sacraments to those who were too far removed from the large centres to be within reach of resident priests, he fell into the hands of the enemy, and was cast into prison on suspicion of being a priest. He suffered great hardship, but never lost his peace of mind. Nothing being proved against him, he was set free on parole, but, on resuming his labour, found that his health had given way altogether. Rather than discontinue his works of charity, he sought a less arduous position, and was fortunate enough to obtain the chaplaincy at Longwood, the seat of Lady Elizabeth Arundell. Here Father Constantine was able to do a great deal of good without the fatigue of constant journeys. He received kindly all visitors, and never grew weary of hearing confessions or of consoling the many people who came to him for

advice and help. During the last two years of his life he was unable to leave the house, owing to extreme weakness, and often was compelled to keep his bed, his sufferings becoming so severe at times that those present thought the end had come. Yet he showed most edifying patience, and no murmur escaped his lips. Having celebrated Christmas (1664) with the greatest devotion, he became quite prostrate on the feast of Holy Innocents. On that of St. Thomas à Becket he received Viaticum and Extreme Unction, and addressed some words of exhortation to friends who had come to visit him, speaking for some time on the vanity of earthly things. Shortly after midnight (December 30) he sent for all the members of the household, of whom he humbly begged pardon for his faults, and at their request imparted to them his last blessing. His death was most peaceful.

Father Gratian of the Blessed Trinity

Though not a member of the English Mission, Father Gratian is entitled to mention in these pages because, during the few years he spent in England, he shared the labours of his brethren. He was a Portuguese by birth, his secular name being Martin de Heredia. Born about 1610, he was attached in his youth to the service of the Cardinal Prince Infant of Spain,[1] whom he accompanied to Flanders.

[1] Ferdinand of Austria, son of Philip III. of Spain, was created Cardinal Deacon of Sta. Maria, in Porticu, in 1619, and became Archbishop of Toledo and Governor of the Netherlands. He died in 1641.

He there took the Carmelite habit, and was professed at Louvain on June 6, 1641. Having completed his course of philosophy and theology, he held the post of preacher for some years at the monastery at Antwerp, and was subsequently raised to the dignity of Prior (1658–61). Being transferred to Brussels in the same capacity, delicate health obliged him to resign his charge at the expiration of a year (October 1662). In both these cities he won for himself the esteem and affection of his brethren. The Spanish Ambassador at St. James's, Count Molina, having made his acquaintance at Brussels, offered him a chaplaincy (May 1665), in the hope that the change of air would benefit his health; and further testified his esteem and respect by choosing him for his confessor. The malady from which he suffered prevented Father Gratian from retaining his position for long. All the remedies of physicians proved of no avail, and his removal to Tunbridge Wells only increased his sufferings. Throughout his illness he showed great patience and resignation. Having received the last sacraments, he died on June 12, 1667, and was buried in the parish church of Frant, near Tunbridge Wells.

PART II

THE CARMELITE MISSION DURING THE RESTORATION

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF FATHER BEDE OF ST. SIMON STOCK

(WALTER JOSEPH TRAVERS)

CHAPTER I

CONVERSION

The Travers family—Early youth of Walter Joseph Travers—Religious struggles—Journey to Rome—Conversion.

THE following narrative may be regarded as an autobiography, being almost entirely compiled from Father Bede's own writings. Before going on the English Mission he was compelled to give an account of himself, the original of which (in Latin) is still extant. During his stay in Italy, where he had retired at the outbreak of the Oates Plot, he was ordered to write his experiences as a missionary in England; the Italian manuscript, with corrections in his own hand, is also preserved. A certain number of letters, some by himself, some by a Carmelite nun, throw light on his life at Cesena and the second period of his missionary labours in London. And, finally, we possess the circular written at Paris and addressed to the various monasteries on the occasion of his death.

I have written this narrative under holy obedi-

ence, having been obliged to do so by my Superiors. It contains the history of my conversion to the True Faith, and the circumstances which led me to join the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, founded by the prophet St. Elias, and restored by St. Theresa, my task having been undertaken for the Glory of God and the love of the Blessed Virgin. For my vocation to the Catholic Faith will reveal God's mercy towards a sinner.

My parents, Samuel Travers and his wife Alice, of Tiverton, however remarkable for virtue, were unfortunately members of the Protestant Church, as, in fact, were the greater part of the population of the south-west of England, especially Devonshire, where I was born (in 1619). Though there were as many as twenty-four parishes in Exeter, there was to my knowledge only one Catholic person in the whole town. My father was a Protestant minister; he did not belong to either the Puritans or the Calvinists, but was always inclined to the Royalist party, and was an excellent preacher, so that he obtained a prebend at the Cathedral of Exeter, besides two rich livings. My mother died when I was about six years old, leaving seven sons, of whom I was the fourth; she died at the birth of her eighth child, which did not survive her. Her innocence was so exemplary that she seemed to have been preserved from original sin, and to have remained unaffected by schism and heresy, in the midst of which she was brought up.

At the age of twenty, I wrote to my father from London that I should like to go abroad, as I had always had a great desire to see foreign countries;

and, being more or less my own master, I did not anticipate a refusal. Being a prudent man, he had ever paid special attention to the talents and inclinations of his children, so as to place them in such positions in life as would suit their character and abilities. As for me, he had long wished me to adopt a commercial career, and had even intended to send me to Spain, where one of my brothers was established. He had booked my passage on board an English ship, and took me himself to the port where the vessel was to call on her way from London to Valencia. Owing to contrary winds, the ship was unable to proceed on her voyage, and I was set down at Dartmouth. There the Chancellor of the county of Devonshire took my case into his own hands, and brought me to London, where I found employment as a clerk to a solicitor, but I became disgusted with this kind of work on account of the merciless extortions practised by the legal profession. Now, when I again wrote to my father for permission to go abroad, he changed his mind, giving as his chief reason the expense my journey was likely to entail.

While living in London, I used to read the Bible regularly, to attend church, to frequent sermons, and receive the sacraments. I also took great interest in charitable works. I frequently visited the poor and afflicted, consoled them as best I could, and relieved their wants as far as my purse allowed. I read some pious books, which inspired me with a salutary fear of grievous sin, and to this fear, and the terror I had of eternal damnation, I ascribe the

fact of my not falling altogether away from Almighty God. He has been very merciful to me, notwithstanding my innumerable sins and the dangerous companionship of other youths, who often led me to indulge in the immoderate use of wine. Blessed be God, who spared me, and even removed those dangerous occasions. "O Lord, remember not the faults of my youth, and my sins of ignorance."

At that time I was often cast down by great affliction of mind and interior desolation. I felt a certain hatred for my faults, and longed to serve and please God, but I understood that, in order to do that, I should place all my hope in Him, rather than seek satisfaction in any creature. Sometimes I tried to calm my soul by recreation, but I failed to secure perfect peace within myself, for I grew weary of those worldly relaxations. Tired of all things, and in great interior anxiety, I knew not where to turn or what to do, for I had ever been taught that I should despise earthly consolations and turn to God, the source of true happiness. I often prayed for Divine assistance, feeling in a vague way that in God alone I could find true contentment. By degrees I made light of life's pleasure, and aspired to that peace "which surpasseth all understanding." I also felt convinced that, as long as I was in my present position, the wounds of my soul would never be healed, and that I must go abroad to get rid of the troubles that harassed me. I therefore resolved to avail myself of the first opportunity of leaving England.

Being well aware of the difference in religious opinions between the English and foreigners, I felt

that I ought to become thoroughly conversant with the questions at issue; it was a matter of the highest importance, yet I had no doubt but that I was perfectly safe in the Protestant religion, in which I had been brought up. But I feared that, unless I was proficient in controversy, I might be led into error when living among Catholics, and, not being able to refute the subtleties and fallacies of their arguments, become a Catholic myself. Moreover, I felt great compassion for them, because I imagined them grievously mistaken. For such reasons I closely studied works of controversy, and spent much time in trying to grasp the teaching of the Catholic Church. In my indiscreet zeal I even sought the friendship of a young man, a watchmaker, whom I knew to be a Catholic, and whom I desired to rescue from the snares of his Church. The sudden news of the conversion of my elder brother caused me to take a deeper interest in this study, and I even became quite incensed against Catholics. My brother had gone to Spain some years previously, and, having turned Catholic, entered the Society of Jesus there.

I spent about two years in this frame of mind, reading many works calculated to establish the Protestant doctrine, while refuting that of Rome. I received from a friend a copy of the Holy Scriptures, published by the English College at Rheims, containing excellent notes directed against the errors of the times, together with the answer of Dr. Fulke,[1]

[1] William Fulke, D.D., 1538–1589. "The Text of the New Testament of Jesus Christ, translated out of the vulgar Latine by the

an English Protestant. This seemed to me the book best suited for my purpose, but, strange to say, it caused me much anxiety, arising from the weakness of Fulke's reasons. I noticed in him a want of sincerity when trying to answer difficulties, whereas in a matter of such paramount importance I should have expected the most scrupulous straightforwardness. At times he seemed to evade vital points; at other times, explaining questions, made them all the more obscure. Having experience of this kind of argument, I could look upon myself as a kind of umpire between the two parties, no longer regarding myself an adherent to the Protestant religion. I now consulted controversial works on the Catholic side, in order to ascertain upon what basis they founded their refutation of Protestant objections. Thus I took a decisive step, which brought me within reach of the Truth.

Meanwhile I offered to God prayers and supplications, begging Him to vouchsafe to enlighten my mind, and to grant me the grace of the Holy Ghost, that I might speedily find the way of salvation; for the more doubtful I became, the more I yearned to come to the knowledge of the Truth.

I was not able to confer with any Catholic on this matter, neither did I know a Priest to whom I could have addressed myself. I dared not make known the unsettled state of my mind to my Pro-

Papists of the traiterous Seminarie at Rhemes. With a confutation," &c. London, 1589, fol. Dedicated to the Queen. Elsewhere we learn that Father Bede also read with great interest the historical works of Speed.

testant friends lest it should come to the ears of my relatives. It only remained for me to redouble my prayers for greater light; and God heard my prayers, and put in my hands the very books of which I stood so much in need.

Parliament was just sitting in London, decreeing penalties against the "Roman Papists," as Catholics were named. Everything was done to hinder the practice of the Catholic religion. Among other things, it was ordained that Catholic books should be confiscated. A large number of these were collected and deposited in a certain library, and a committee of three or four bishops was appointed to look into them, and carefully examine whether they should be burned or not. Being acquainted with a secretary of the Bishop of Exeter, a member of this committee, I one day accompanied my friend to the library in question, where I found a great many Catholic books lying in a heap on the floor, while others, on account of their costly binding, or their gold or silver clasps, were arranged on shelves. Feeling that such an opportunity was offered me by Divine Providence, I was not slow in taking as many books as my pockets would hold, and, with the connivance of the secretary, brought them home for my own instruction. I intended to ask for some others, but, before I could carry out my design, all these books, unjustly taken from their owners, were condemned by the bishops as being "superstitious," and consigned to the flames.

At this time I also experienced another proof of God's goodness. There was an intimate friend of

mine, whom I met almost daily, and whom I frequently accompanied to church and to the sacrament, and in whom I had implicit confidence. Suddenly he began to change his opinion of the Catholic Church, and at the same time to doubt Protestant doctrine. He threw out hints about his inclination, and I, on my part, told him of my studies, and, if I remember rightly, gave him some of the books I had saved from the fire. One day he showed me a picture of the Crucifixion of Our Lord, which he kept in his bedroom, and a famous book called "The Triple Cord,"[1] treating excellently of all the controversies between Catholics and Protestants, and proving Catholic doctrine from Holy Scripture, the Fathers, and even from Protestant writers, who disagree among themselves, and refuting with the same clearness the errors of Protestants. He fortunately obtained a copy of this book for me, but he dared not speak to me frankly about embracing or even approving the Catholic religion; nor did I ever open my mind to him on the subject. Yet our friendship became all the more intimate for the discovery of our religious tendencies. I firmly hope that through the mercy of God he was received into the Church even as I was, but since my departure from England I have entirely lost sight of him.

Having thus providentially obtained the books I most needed, I lost no time in studying them. The subjects that interested me most were the

[1] By Father John Anderton, S.J. Printed in 1634, and again in 1651.

devotions and services of the Catholic Church. There was one book, partly written in verse, and adorned with numerous engravings, containing a dialogue between the Holy Child Jesus and the human heart. Another was entitled: "The Pious Works of Blessed Francis of Sales."[1] But the one I liked best was "The Triple Cord." "A triple cord is hardly broken," says the Wise man. This book gives in a simple form the solution of all difficulties, and is proof against all subtleties and fallacies of the Protestants; indeed, it mercilessly breaks the meshes of error in which I had been brought up. To this book I owed the light which dispelled darkness from my soul. Nevertheless I must confess that at the beginning I was not anxious to come to the knowledge of Catholic truth, but rather tried to persuade myself that I was perfectly safe in the Protestant Communion. But in the course of my studies I became convinced of two things, that the doctrine of the Catholic Church is entirely in harmony with the Gospel and the teaching of the Fathers, so that I could not remain outside its pale without risking my salvation; and that Protestantism is of comparatively recent origin, and subject to never-ending changes. There now remained only one thing for me to do, to openly embrace the faith

[1] The "Introduction to a Devout Life," by St. Francis of Sales, was first translated into English by J. Y. in 1613, and dedicated to Mistress Anne Roper, daughter of William Roper, Knt., of Well Hall, Eltham, and St. Dunstan's, Canterbury. J. Y., according to Gee's "Foot out of the Snare," would stand for J. York, but there being no further trace of a priest of that name, it probably refers to Father John Yate, S.J., who died at Watten in 1624.

which had already taken such hold of my mind, and I only waited for a favourable opportunity.

Being obliged to keep my resolution secret, on account of the cruel persecution to which Catholics were exposed, I asked my father for permission either to enlist in the army, which I knew well he would never grant, or to go abroad. Such was my devotion to the Holy See, that Rome appeared to me the place best suited for my design. Otherwise it would have been far easier for me to cross over to Flanders and join my brother the Jesuit, or to go to France, where I was sure of finding friends among the numerous Englishmen residing there. In Rome, however, I had no friends, nor did I expect to find even one fellow-countryman with whom I could associate, nor did I know much of any foreign language.

I had gone to Exeter to make the final arrangements with my father, to obtain his blessing and get the necessary means, and to take leave of all my relations, friends, and my home, which I never expected to see again. Civil war was raging at the time, and fearing the soldiers, who were swarming everywhere, and against whose rapacity no one was safe, I travelled as rapidly as I could, and reached London unmolested. My first step was to go and see a friend who had left Exeter shortly before me, and who was going to Italy like myself. He had secured his passage on board a vessel bound for Genoa. Being a rich man, and well connected, I had every reason to congratulate myself on the good fortune of travelling in his company. I well

remember how, on his leaving Exeter, I with some friends accompanied him a day's journey, and having nothing else to offer him as a keepsake, begged him to accept my walking-stick. Even then I secretly hoped to go with him to Italy, but had not yet obtained my father's permission. On his way to town he fell into the hands of the Parliamentarian troops, and was detained by them for two days, being eventually set free with the loss of his money. However, he was well provided with all travelling necessaries for both of us, and did seem glad to have me as his companion. I arranged with the master of the ship for my passage-money, and soon had everything in readiness. Five or six days after my arrival in London, we went down to Dover, where our ship lay at anchor.

But the enemy of mankind, evidently angry at my escape from error, laid a snare for me. In order to reach our ship, we had to descend the river Thames for some fifty miles, and then cover the remaining distance on horseback. When ready to start, we were told that we should have to wait until midnight for the tide. We adjourned to an inn to while away our time. Shortly before midnight, I happened to stand outside the inn door, when presently a troop of soldiers passing by asked me who I was. I paid no attention, but bade them begone somewhat curtly, not reflecting that there might be trouble on account of the state of war. Naturally rough, my answer made them still more insolent; they began to cry out that I was a suspicious subject, and ought to be taken before a

Justice for examination. I at once calmed down, and told them who I was and how it came to pass that I was at such an hour in such a place, confirming my statement by the production of certain letters addressed to English merchants at Leghorn. One of the troop, who appeared to have some authority over the rest, spoke in my favour, and to his intervention I owe my escape from their hands. Had I been taken before a Justice of the Peace, it would have resulted in the loss of time and money (if nothing worse), and the Oath of allegiance, recently introduced, and already once rejected by me, would have been imposed upon me. It was enforced principally upon those who were leaving town, but I would not have taken it on any account.

A similar danger, likewise due to the envy of the Evil one, as I believe, happened to me on the eve of my departure from Exeter. I was waiting in the house of the carrier with whom I had arranged for a conveyance for the following day, when two travellers, armed with swords, entered, and without why or wherefore, began to abuse me so roundly that I wonder from words we did not come to blows. For, being so roughly attacked by them, I could hardly contain myself, and was strongly inclined to retaliate, in which case the altercation would have led to a fight, and instead of Italy I might have gone to gaol.

Our ship was called the *Angel*, and to me she appeared like an angel of peace, after all my interior and exterior trials. She weighed anchor at

last, and, assisted by a good breeze, steered down the Channel. Sailing through the Bay of Biscay it blew a fearful gale, but with God's mercy we arrived safely off the coast of Portugal, and passing through the Straits of Gibraltar, entered the Mediterranean and called at Majorca. The following day we left for Genoa, where we lay seven or eight days, and finally proceeded to Leghorn. Here I disembarked, and after a week's rest continued my journey to Rome, in company with three English merchants, who went there out of mere curiosity, being Protestants. My friend, whose berth I had shared from Dover to Leghorn, remained there. Our journey was prosperous, and we made our entrance into Rome on the eve of Palm Sunday (1642).

The following morning we all went to the Papal chapel to witness the blessing of the palms. As soon as it was known that we were English we were admitted, for such was the affection of Pope Urban VIII. for our nation, that though aware that those who went to Rome were mostly Protestants, he nevertheless wished that before other strangers they should receive every courtesy. Thus when a few days later we visited his Eminence Cardinal Francisco Barberini,[1] in order to pay him

[1] Various members of the powerful Florentine family Barberini being mentioned in these pages, the subjoined list may be useful to the reader:—

1. Maffeo Barberini, born 1568, Archbishop of Nazareth, was created Cardinal Priest in 1606, with the title of San Pietro in Montorio; later on he became Cardinal Priest of Sant' Onufrio, and

our respects, he commissioned one of his household after the audience to introduce us to the Pope, whose feet we kissed. His Holiness received us most kindly, and put many questions to one of our company who spoke Italian, and finally gave each of us five hundred days' Indulgence, adding that if we were not Catholics ourselves we could give them to our Catholic friends. We all were

was elected Pope on 6th Aug. 1623, under the name of Urban VIII. He died 29th July 1644.

2. Francisco Barberini, nephew of the preceding, being son of his brother Charles, was born in 1597, and at the first creation of Cardinals under Urban VIII. became Cardinal Priest of Sant' Onufrio (1623). The following year he took the title of Cardinal Deacon of Santa Agata alla suburra, and in his turn accepted the Suburbican Sees of Sabina, Porto, and Ostia. He died in 1679, as Dean of the Sacred College. He was "Protector" of the English nation.

3. Antonio Barberini, the elder, brother of Urban VIII., was born in 1569, entered the Capuchin Order in 1585, and was created Cardinal Priest of Sant' Onufrio in 1624, and Bishop of Sinigaglia. He died in 1646.

4. Antonio Barberini, the younger, nephew of Urban VIII. and the preceding, and brother of Cardinal Francisco Barberini, was born in 1608, created Cardinal Deacon of Santa Maria in Aquiro in 1627, later on of Sant' Agata, Santa Maria in Via Lata, Cardinal Priest of Santa Trinità del Monte, and finally Cardinal Bishop of Frascati (by option). After the death of Urban VIII. he had to leave Rome, and was offered a refuge in France by Cardinal Mazarin. He successively occupied the bishopric of Poitier and the archbishopric of Rheims, and was nominated Grand Almoner of France. He died in 1671.

5. Taddeo Barberini, nephew of Urban VIII., brother of Cardinals Francisco and Antonio the younger, bore the official title of "General of the Church," owing to his having commanded the Pontifical troops in the war against Odoardo Farnese (1641–1644). He accompanied his brother, Cardinal Antonio, into exile and died in Paris in 1647, where he was buried in the Carmelite church.

filled with no little admiration and joy at the kindness shown to us by the Pope. Entering the Pope's private chapel, we met a Religious, an English Jesuit (Father Walter Mico, *alias* Giles Hervey), vested in cotta and stole, a Penitentiary of St. Peter's; he saluted us in English, and conversed with us familiarly, which gave me the opportunity of opening my heart to him, and explaining the motive of my journey to Rome. Thinking that he would be the very man I needed, and that he was providentially chosen to fulfil my desire, I determined to make known to him the secret I had hitherto kept hidden in my breast, and to beg his assistance and advice as to the steps I should have to take to embrace the Catholic Faith. Accordingly, a few days later I called on him. Having put many questions, and thereby ascertained that I was well instructed, and that it was my earnest desire to enter the Church, he advised me to part company with the merchants and come and reside with him, which I promised to do immediately after Easter. In the meantime, I took a room in the house of a physician not far from the English College. Having bidden farewell to my companions, I prepared, by a ten days' retreat, for my general confession. My director, Father Giles, a man of great virtue, and so highly esteemed that soon afterwards he was nominated vicar of the College of the Penitenziaria, visited me frequently during these ten days, and completed my instruction. He was a fellow-countryman of mine, having been born at Taunton in Somerset, bore the same Christian name as myself

(Walter), and had come to the knowledge of the true Faith in a manner not unlike my own. I made my abjuration *in foro externo* before a commissionary of the Congregation of Inquisition, received a small penance, was absolved from censure; and thus admitted publicly to the communion of the Faithful, I became a member of the true Church. My next step was to make a general confession, and to receive absolution *in foro interno;* and finally, with great joy and thankfulness, I received the Sacrament of the Lord's Body, in the crypt of the church of the holy Apostles SS. Peter and Paul.

CHAPTER II

COLLEGE AND NOVITIATE

Influence of the writings of St. Theresa—Pilgrimage to Assisi and Loreto—The English College—The Carmelite novitiate of La Scala—Conversions in the Travers family.

Being at last truly a member of the Church, yet without experience, I was exposed to various interior trials. As a Protestant, I had heard nothing of mental prayer and mortification, but now I found great help in it. I went regularly to the Sacraments, whence I derived great blessings, especially while endeavouring to root out my unruly passions, for which purpose I also practised some mortification. In these happy days I often persevered in meditation for whole hours; I took much delight in reading spiritual books, in hearing and serving Mass, visiting the seven churches,[1] sometimes even before breaking my fast. In the crypt of St. Peter's, before the tomb of the Apostles, I received more grace than anywhere else, seeing, as it were, the truth of the Catholic Church in such a clear and vivid light that not even a passing doubt could have arisen within me;

[1] An Indulgence is attached to the visit of the seven churches, St. John of the Lateran, St. Peter, St. Paul outside the walls, St. Mary Major, St. Lawrence outside the walls, Holy Cross of Jerusalem, and St. Sebastian.

and I should have willingly given my blood for the conversion of one of my Protestant brethren.

Such was my life for about two years, during which I frequently thought to consecrate myself to God in the ecclesiastical state, to which end I resumed my studies. Though I had attended school for several years in my youth, I had profited but little, and for a long time past had ceased altogether to trouble myself about my mental culture. Hence I found myself in the humiliating position of recommencing the rudiments of grammar, for his Eminence Cardinal (Francisco) Barberini had only granted leave for me to enter the English College when my studies in humanity should enable me to begin at once the course of philosophy. Father Giles volunteered to act as my tutor, and I often went to him to repeat my lessons; but when he was removed from the Penitenziaria to the procuratorship of Monte Porzio I grew remiss, being too much absorbed by a premature desire of joining a Religious Order.

Having acquired a tolerable knowledge of Italian by daily intercourse with those who spoke that tongue only, I took up the Lives of the Saints, and became full of admiration for their heroic deeds, and no less of compunction at the remembrance of my sins. I had never heard or even thought that such virtues had been manifested in the members of the Church, or that men since the times of the Apostles were ever raised to such degrees of sanctity, and brought into such close union with God.

The Life of the Seraphic St. Francis inspiring me

above all others with a burning desire of imitating him, I went to the Capuchin monastery, where I was already known, and begged to be received among their novices. Owing to my being a foreigner, a recent convert, and of weak constitution, they hesitated, and finally assured me that I was too delicate to bear the hardships of their Order. I should not have been discouraged at this answer, for I was not afraid of austerities, but when I learned that they had no missions in England I felt that I must turn elsewhere, for I had a burning desire of working for the conversion of my fellow-countrymen. For the same reason I dismissed the idea of joining the Camaldulese. On the other hand, I did not feel called to the Society of Jesus. I liked the fathers immensely for their holiness, and was well aware of the extent of their English missions, but I sought an Order which combined the missionary life with the practice of solitude and contemplation, and the recitation of the Divine Office in choir.

Just then I became acquainted with the Carmelite Order. I frequently visited the church of La Scala, and on the departure of Father Giles I chose a director from among the Carmelites, Father Philip of St. Catherine († in 1657). I removed to Monte Porzio in order to be near the Carmelite monastery of St. Silvester, and entered into close friendship with some of the fathers. I was delighted to be able to study their manner of life, and the particulars of their Rule, and became a frequent visitor to their monastery, but I could not make up my mind to join an Order, the austerities of which every

one agreed to be far beyond my strength. Having heard of the writings of St. Theresa, I lost no time in procuring them, and became so captivated by them that I resolved to try my vocation at all costs. Having applied for admission, I was cruelly disappointed by being put off. I therefore resolved to interest the Saints in my behalf, so as to secure, through their intercession, what I could not obtain by myself. I had naturally the greatest confidence in Our Lady, to whose own Order I desired to belong, and therefore determined to make a pilgrimage to Her shrine at Loreto. I there took the vow of chastity, and during forty days attended the Holy House, and performed many acts of devotion and penance, with a view to obtaining the grace of being admitted into the Order of Mount Carmel, reformed by the Seraphic Mother St. Theresa. During this pilgrimage I received many graces and tokens of God's paternal love, and I think it only right that I should make known some of these. When I first came to Rome my funds were all but exhausted, and having nothing to expect from home, I lived on charity. Cardinal Antonio Barberini, the Capuchin, generously granted me a monthly pension of five scudi (£1) until my entrance into the English College, and on his recommendation the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda added three scudi more, so that I never wanted the necessaries of life. When I went on pilgrimage to Loreto, I felt strongly inclined to give in alms all the money I had, and to beg my food on the way. But apprehending a diabolical illusion, I determined to take the advice of a saintly religious

called Father Joseph à Cupertino,[1] who lived at the monastery of St. Francis at Assisi, and was renowned far and wide for his holiness. He advised me to choose the golden mean, namely, to live very sparingly myself, and yet not to deprive myself of my resources, so as to be able to provide for my own wants when alms came less abundantly. This advice was truly inspired, for if I had distributed all my money to the poor at the beginning of my pilgrimage, I should have died of starvation. As it was, I came back to Rome in such an exhausted condition that I was thought to be in consumption.

While at Assisi the following incident occurred:—

One day I went to the hospital to visit and tend the sick. I only found one patient, who replied to my salutation in Latin, as he was a German. He had a malignant fever, and the physicians, after applying leeches to various parts of his body, gave him up for dead. I found him covered with vermin, and asked the matron to give him clean sheets and a change of linen. I also promised to stand by him until his death or recovery, being a pilgrim myself, and bound to works of mercy. Next day, as I was sitting by his bedside, he was suddenly seized with terrific convulsions. His whole body shook, the eyes became like balls of fire, he gnashed his teeth, and cold perspiration streamed from his face. This lasted for nearly a quarter of an hour, and while

[1] St. Joseph à Cupertino (1603–1663) was at that time kept under strict observation on account of the extraordinary phenomena which greatly alarmed the ecclesiastical authorities. Father Bede was permitted to assist at his Mass, a favour denied to persons of princely rank.

two nurses hastened to support him, I recited the prayers for the dying. After a short interval the attack recurred, and his death seemed imminent. But eventually he calmly opened his eyes, and to my question as to how he felt, he replied that he was well. Such indeed was the case; the fever had left him, and he only suffered from extreme weakness. He begged me to go to the monastery and call a certain father to hear his confession. When this was done, the sick man asked for some food; in fact his appetite was so good that I feared he would injure himself by over-eating. The surgeon on whom I called taught me to dress the wounds left by the leeches. In a few days the Mayor of Assisi, having heard of the case, paid a visit to the hospital, and, after listening to my account, bade me continue my pilgrimage, as he himself would look after the needs of the stranger. The same day he sent him two excellent chickens, and the next morning I felt justified in leaving my patient and proceeding on my way to the Casa Santa. A long time after my return to Rome, when I was already a pupil of the English College, I happened to meet this German pilgrim in the streets, and invited him to the College. With the leave of my Superiors I gave him some refreshment, and in the course of conversation asked him what made him tremble so much in his agony? He said that he was in Holy Orders, and having had the misfortune to make a bad confession, he suddenly saw himself arraigned before the judgment seat of Jesus Christ, and condemned to hell for a sin he had been ashamed to

confess. But, recommending himself to the Blessed Virgin, he perceived the Mother of Mercy kneeling before her Divine Son, and imploring Him to grant the miserable sinner time for making a better confession. For this reason he asked me to fetch one of the fathers, the same to whom he had made the invalid confession. In this manner he gained soul, life, and health together. His intention was now to resume his pilgrimage and go to Jerusalem.

A case not unlike the preceding occurred to me at another hospital, where I found a young fellow, worn out by long illness, whom I supported for some days at my own expense. In the meantime, I arranged with the master of the hospital that in future the patient should receive alms directly instead of through the matron, who always provided the same kind of food; so that he might suit his own taste, without being under the alternative of taking his food with repugnance or having nothing at all. I also asked a Religious, the founder of a house of Oratorians, to visit the sick man and take an interest in him.

Having completed my pilgrimage and returned to Rome, I again submitted the question of my vocation to the Superiors of the Carmelites, and made every effort to obtain admission into an Order I loved so much. I received the answer that the Vicar-General[1] could not grant me the dispensation

[1] Father Isidore of St. Dominic governed the Order as Vicar-General from the death of the General, Father Paul Simon, in July 1643 until the following April, when the Chapter-General met for the election of a new Superior.

necessary to enter the novitiate, as I was a foreigner, a recent convert, and apparently of weak constitution. Entreaties and even tears being useless, I followed the advice given me by my director, and applied for admission to the English College, which was granted after a ten days' retreat in the novitiate house of the Jesuits.[1]

Having entered the College, and devoted six months to the study of philosophy, I took the oath whereby Papal students oblige themselves to receive Holy Orders at the completion of their studies, and to spend three years on the English Mission without joining a Religious Order. Notwithstanding this

[1] According to the "Pilgrim-book of the English College," Walter Travers visited the College twice in 1645, viz. 14th July and in September (the MS. says erroneously October). "After three days he was admitted to the scholars' gown." On this occasion he changed his name "Walter" for "Joseph." Foley ("Records," vol. iv. p. 657) gives an abstract of the answers of Walter Travers to the questions usually put to the pupils of the College, which fully bear out the statements of the autobiography. The following is a translation of the entry in the College Diary: "1645. No. 823. Walter Travers, *alias* Joseph Travers, of Devonshire, aged about twenty-six, and confirmed, was admitted among the pupils of His Holiness Innocent X. by the express command of His Eminence Cardinal Barberini, our Protector, under Rev. Father Robert Stafford, Rector, on 23rd September 1645. He received the first tonsure and all the (Minor) Orders at Sant' Andrea della Valle, on 1st July 1646. He entered the order of Discalced Carmelites at La Scala on 4th November 1647, having obtained leave from the Congregation of Propaganda." Marginal note: "He took the oath under both forms on 22nd May 1646. So be it. (Sig.) Joseph Travers."

We find from the "Pilgrim-book" that his brother John, the Jesuit, arrived in Rome on 1st January 1646, from Spain. This meeting, which Father Bede does not mention in his memoirs, must have been a source of great happiness to both.

oath, I preserved some faint hope of being one day a Religious, but how that should come to pass I could not foresee. I accepted with all my heart the rules and regulations of the College, which seemed quite monastic. Everything pleased me, nothing was wanting to my happiness; I was kindly looked upon by my Superiors and my fellow-pupils, and was elected Head Infirmarian and Submaster of Aspirants earlier than is the custom. Nevertheless I was subject to desolation of spirit, which I could not account for, although I consulted the fathers with reference to the state of my soul. I felt as though God was displeased with me, and do what I could I was unable to serve Him properly. It happened that the students of the College founded a sodality in honour of Our Blessed Lady, with a view of increasing the fervour of its members, and I took my share in the foundation, inasmuch as I first conceived the idea, and, having obtained the consent of the fathers, canvassed for it, and offered it a pretty representation of the Holy Child Jesus with Our Lady and St. Joseph, which had been given me by my godfather in confirmation, Canon Ubaldini, the brother of our Ven. Father Alexander of St. Francis.[1] But even this sodality only served to

[1] Of the three sons of Marco Antonio Ubaldini, the eldest, Robert, became Bishop of Monte Pulciano and Cardinal Priest; the second, Ugo, Canon of St. Peter's; and the third, Lelio, Carmelite, under the name of Alexander of St. Francis. The day he took the habit his uncle, Cardinal de Medicis, was elected Pope under the name of Leo XI., who at once created Father Alexander Cardinal *in petto*. Paul V., Gregory XV., and Urban VIII. offered him a Cardinal's hat, but the humble Religious constantly refused

strengthen within me the longing for religious life. Hence I repaired to Our Lady of La Scala as often as I could obtain permission, and each time I grew more anxious to embrace the monastic state. I received much kindness at the hands of Rev. Father Lawrence of St. Elias,[1] who was then Procurator-General, but became General in the second year of my College life. No sooner had I heard of his election than I hastened to inform him of my most ardent desire, and earnestly solicited his approbation. He referred me to the Prior of La Scala, and within a short time I obtained the consent of the Chapter to my taking the habit. I was yet bound by my oath, from which the Pope alone could release me, a favour so exceedingly rare that not one instance had come to my knowledge. But love brooks no delay, and in spite of all obstacles I persevered in my efforts. Through the Ambassador of the Queen of England, Sir Kenelm Digby, I submitted my request to His Holiness. Fearing that my petition might remain for a long time in the hands of the various Congregations, I requested the

the honour. For some years, especially while his brother was Nuncio in Paris, Father Alexander filled the office of Master of Novices in the same city. Having returned to Italy, he was successively elected to various posts of honour, and died in the odour of sanctity on 19th April 1630. Among other works he published the first Italian edition of the writings of St. John of the Cross. For interesting particulars about his life, see *Annales Des Carmes Déchaussés de France*, by Father Louis of St. Theresa, vol. i. chaps. 22–27.

[1] Lawrence Jimenez of Pampelona, born 1588, sometime Rector of the University of Huesca, professed at La Scala in 1627 ; General from 1647–50 ; died at Naples 1655.

Pope that he would graciously decide the case himself. But even this supplication took its ordinary course from office to office, and only after a long time of anxious waiting I was summoned before Their Eminences and closely examined as to my vocation, and, finally, at the recommendation of Cardinal Caraffa,[1] His Holiness granted my petition. Pending these negotiations, the Prior of La Scala told me that he would only receive me on condition I brought with me another Collegian.[2]

All obstacles being thus overcome, I entered the novitiate, and at the end of the year of probation took my vows with the greatest feeling of joy and gratitude (15th November 1648). I next applied myself to the study of philosophy, and later on to that of theology, for which purpose I was sent to Malta, where I remained three years. The two following years I spent partly at Malta, partly at Messina, occupied as porter and sacristan. At the latter place I also delivered the customary weekly lectures on Moral Theology. At the Provincial Chapter held at Palermo I was nominated Master of Novices for the Province of Sicily, in consequence

[1] Peter Louis Caraffa, born 1581, was successively Vice-Legate of Ferrara, Governor of Fermo, Bishop of Tricario, Nuncio in the Netherlands, Germany, and at Cologne, Cardinal in 1645, and died in 1655 during the Conclave. The decree of the Sacred Congregation is dated 2nd September 1647. The request, it says, is more readily granted because the Carmelites are carrying on a mission in England. The oath is dispensed with, excepting the missionary clause. By a second decree of 14th October of the same year, the Pope consents to the execution of the former.

[2] See the biographical notice of Father Constantine, Part I. chap. xii. p. 162.

whereof I remained at Palermo for three years (1655–58). My term of office over, I went to Rome in order to prepare for the English Mission, which I am now about to join, with the consent of my Superiors, for the Glory of God, the honour of the Blessed Virgin, the profit of my neighbour, and the salvation of my own soul. Amen.

My elder brother, John Travers,[1] was received into the Catholic Church while engaged in business in Spain. He subsequently joined the Society of Jesus, and was for many years Professor of Philosophy and Theology at Liège. He gave, and continues to give, remarkable signs of exemplary piety and brilliant talent.

A cousin of mine, Zachary Grield, of the same age as myself, was for some years engaged in business at Naples. After my arrival in Italy, we renewed our old friendship by means of a regular correspondence. The insurrection of 1647 obliging him to leave Naples, he came to Rome, so that I was able to impress upon him by word of mouth the necessity of belonging to the true Church of Christ. But before I could see any result of my endeavours, I entered the novitiate, and therefore was reluctantly obliged to discontinue my intercourse with him, but

[1] John Travers, born in 1616 at Exeter, was received into the Church at Valencia in Spain, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1642. Sent to Rome in 1646, and later on to Liège, he came to England about 1663, where he developed great zeal as a missionary, converting, among others, Sir John and Lady Warner and Miss Elizabeth Warner. About 1670 he sadly fell away from his Order and the Church, wounded pride being supposed to have caused his fall. See Foley, "Records," vols. ii. p. 460, and iv. p. 657.

recommended his salvation the more fervently to God. Soon after his return to Naples he fell dangerously ill. A certain Religious[1] paid him frequent visits, and earnestly besought him to think of the interests of his soul. He expressed his willingness to submit to the Church, and, a priest having been called, made a general confession, and full of joy and consolation departed this life. By command of His Eminence Cardinal Filomarini, the burial was conducted with great solemnity; it took place at San Domenico's in presence of all the foreign merchants, who, though Protestants themselves, held lighted tapers during the ceremony. Before his own death, he prophesied to the head of the firm, also an Englishman, his conversion and early death. He handed him a valuable ring, one of the two his mother had commissioned me to bring him, saying, "Give this ring to whom you love best, for in a year's time we shall meet again." It so happened that within a year the

[1] Elsewhere we learn the name of this Religious, viz. Philip Thomas Howard, third son of Frederic, Earl of Arundel. He was born on 21st September 1629, and entered the Dominican monastery at Cremona in 1645, after having taken some unsuccessful steps towards joining the Carmelite Order at Antwerp. After his profession on 19th October 1646 he spent three years at Naples, during which time the event referred to took place. Later on he lived in Rome, Rennes, Paris, and in Belgium, until he was sent to England, where he rendered excellent services to the Catholic religion as first chaplain to the Queen (1662–1674). In 1675 he was raised to the dignity of Cardinal Priest with the title of St. Cecilia in Trastevere, which he afterwards exchanged for that of Santa Maria sopra Minerva. He died on 17th June 1694. For the numerous and interesting questions connected with the name of "The Cardinal of Norfolk," the reader may consult Father Palmer's "Life of Cardinal Howard," and Gillow's Bibliogr. Dict., vol. iii. p. 442.

favourite brother of this merchant came to Naples, and he presented him with the ring without much reflection. Before the end of the year the prophecy was fulfilled, for the merchant caught fever, and, unable to rest on account of pain, was advised by the Catholics around him to embrace their Faith in order to obtain the grace of recovery. At first he paid no heed to their pleading, but on their insisting, consented to take some of the miraculous manna of St. Nicholas of Bari,[1] and also to invoke the great saint, so as to obtain some relief. To his great surprise, his prayer, however hesitating, was at once granted, and he fell into a refreshing slumber. When he awoke, he informed the bystanders that during sleep St. Nicholas had appeared to him, saying that if he would become a Catholic he would take his soul to heaven, but if not he must suffer in hell for his sins. Thereupon he sent for a priest, made his confession, received the Sacraments, and earnestly exhorted his fellow-countrymen to follow his example, lest they should be lost. Two days were spent in this manner, and on the third, the anniversary of my cousin's death, he yielded up his soul to God, recommending himself to St. Nicholas. He was buried in the same place and with the same solemnity as my cousin.

My father, Samuel Travers, of Tiverton, was highly esteemed for learning and prudence. A few years before his death, he contracted an intimate

[1] Concerning this "Manna," see Ribet, *La Mystique Divine*, vol. ii. p. 584 (Paris edition of 1895).

friendship with an illustrious Catholic nobleman,[1] as I learned at the English College from a fellow-student of mine, the nephew of this gentleman. During his last illness he desired to be visited by Catholics only. But whether the desire went so far as to procure the assistance of a Catholic priest is not known, Protestants being ever anxious to conceal such conversions. However, there are strong reasons for thinking so, and we may trust in the mercy of God, who would not suffer the loss of a soul desirous to belong to Him. Converts, as a rule, do not publish their change of religion all at once, especially when the consequences would be disastrous to their families, position, property, and liberty. But they receive the sacraments secretly, and gradually inform their friends of the step they have taken; at the very least they do so on their deathbed, so as to die in the confession of the true Faith, and this, I trust, was the case with my father.

A half-brother of mine, Edmund, sailing from England to France, fell among Flemish pirates, who robbed him, and brought him to Flanders as captive. My brother John, who at the time was at Liège, having heard of the accident, obtained his freedom, though he could not obtain the restoration of two

[1] Sir Edward Cary of Marldon, Devonshire, Knight. See the memoir of his nephew, the Rev. Edward Cary, in Gillow's Dict., vol. i. p. 417. The latter entered the English College on December 8, 1646, and was consequently Father Bede's fellow-pupil for about ten months. He was sent to England in 1653, and died in 1711, having been for a time Chaplain-General of the army under James II.

thousand florins taken from him. The captivity had, however, one good result, inasmuch as it led him to the knowledge of the Catholic Faith, which he eagerly embraced, and wherein he steadfastly perseveres to the present day.

CHAPTER III

FATHER BEDE'S ARRIVAL IN LONDON

The journey to London—Letters—Signor Fanelli—Sir William Russell—Sir George Wakeman—Sir John Hamilton—The Earl of Kinnoul and other Scotch noblemen—The Countess of Ardglass—The Earl of Castlemaine and the Duchess of Cleveland.

FATHER BEDE left Rome for Marseilles in company of Father Edward of St. Mark, a Belgian, on Wednesday in Easter week, 1660; thence he went to Paris, where he had orders to wait for instructions from the General, who would decide whether it was safe to proceed to England. By a simple transformation of his own name, Father Bede assumed that of Giuseppe Versatio; but there is no evidence that he ever used it in England.

He arrived in London on 9th September, and having met the Vicar-Provincial, Father Anselm, at the Venetian Embassy, entered at once upon the missionary work. He will tell us himself some of the more interesting of his experiences during eighteen years of unwearied labour; but in the meantime we must pass in review the letters he sent to Rome. The first has already been mentioned in the memoir of Father Anselm, in whose name it was written. The second, bearing the date of 10th March 1670,

belongs to the time when Father Bede held office as Vicar-Provincial, that is, the years from 1665 till 1672, and from 1675 till 1678. Part of the letter refers to an event which will be narrated later on, the remainder is as follows:—

Your Reverence (the General, Father Philip of the Blessed Trinity), having commanded me to write an account of my life on the mission, I will state in the first place that, having learned by experience that it was better not to be confined to the house of one Catholic family, as are most of my fellow-missioners, I have taken two furnished rooms, where I usually reside, but with liberty to go into the country or elsewhere, as circumstances may require, to perform my priestly duties. Though generally in London, I am sometimes called to distant places. A few years ago, when there was a great mortality in this city, I took charge of the chapel of the Portuguese Embassy, in order to render service to my neighbour, and having thereby become known to the officials, I have ever since lived under the protection of some Ambassador, occasionally saying Mass at his chapel. But I also have an altar in my own room where I say Mass, unless otherwise engaged. Many of my ordinary penitents come to see me at home, where I administer the sacraments, and deliver instructions on the Catholic belief. Some of them are great servants of God, and highly advanced in the interior life.

Many come also to be baptized, or to be married or invested in the scapular, or to be instructed pre-

vious to their reception into the Church. Lest I should become too well known, I frequently change my field of labour for a time. Occasionally I pay a visit to the prisons, to hear the confessions of the prisoners, or to receive them into the Church, or to distribute alms. Last year I converted two men under sentence of death, liberated another at a cost of five-and-twenty scudi (£5), received his wife into the Church, and obtained a promise from him that he would follow her example at the first opportunity. Much of my time is spent in visiting the poor, aged, and sick, to whom I administer the sacraments, and nothing gives me greater pleasure than to be able to assist them, both spiritually and temporally, by means of certain alms entrusted to me for the purpose. The most important part of my work, however, is the conversion of Protestants. In some cases Truth is conveyed by means of discussion, in others by simple instruction. Some people require preparation for the worthy reception of the sacraments, others encouragement to remain steadfast in their Faith, because many, after having embraced the Catholic Faith, are subject to grievous temptations, either owing to the subtleties of the devil, or to the opposition of their parents and friends. These duties occupy a great part of my time, and what remains over is devoted to the Divine Office, meditation and study, and the needful care of my health and strength. I sometimes dine with friends and persons of rank, which is unavoidable in this country, where one must keep on good terms with the better class, in order to have wherewithal to help the poor.

When in London I never stay out at night, except when assisting at a deathbed, for which purpose I may be called at all hours of the night.

At the last Canonical Visitation, Father Louis of St. Theresa [1] blamed me for not having written down some of my experiences on the mission. Some very extraordinary cases having come to my knowledge, through the mercy of God, I set to work to recollect the conversions in which I have been instrumental, and found that they amounted to one hundred and thirty, including all sorts and conditions of people. Other missioners of greater ability and virtue may have produced more abundant fruit. From what I have said, you may judge how well God is glorified and our neighbour served in this country, and what an increase the Church receives through the exertions of the labourers, who not only strengthen the Faith of Catholics, but snatch every day souls from the thraldom of Error and restore them to the fold of Christ. I say it sincerely, that I often suffer great weariness by reason of the world's turmoil, and feel an ardent desire to share once more, with my brothers in Religion, the solitude and peace of the cloister. Yet do I bear all things willingly for the love of my neighbour, thinking this to be in conformity with the Holy Will of God and the spirit of our Order.

At the conclusion of this letter, Father Bede remarks that there are at present twelve Carmelites in Ireland. He also briefly alludes to the remark-

[1] See p. 133.

able activity of those two aged and infirm priests, Fathers Anselm and Joseph, of whom we have made special mention.[1] Finally, he says that many prayers are being offered for the election of the Pope, Clement IX. having died on 9th December 1669. After an unusually long conclave, Cardinal Altieri, an octogenarian, was raised to the See of St. Peter on 29th April 1670, and assumed the name of Clement X.

During his exile in Italy from 1679 till 1686, Father Bede, at the request of his Superiors, dictated the following account of his missionary career in England, the manuscript, with corrections in his own hand, now forming part of the Archives in Kensington :—

Having made my profession, and spent some time in the study of philosophy, I was sent to Malta to begin my course of theology. I remained there about three years and a half, after which I lived for four years in Sicily, and finally returned to Rome, where I spent another year previous to my departure for the English Mission. I met Father-General in Flanders, and with his blessing crossed over to England. The Superior of the mission, Father Anselm, was at that time staying with the Venetian Ambassador, and knowing the district well, large though it was, I went there as soon as I arrived in London. I saw a gentleman of good appearance standing under the doorway, and walking up to him, asked whether he could direct me to the house

[1] See Part I. chaps. viii. and xi.

of the Venetian Ambassador? He replied this was the house, and on my further inquiry as to a certain gentleman I desired to see, he answered that it was himself. I was very glad at having thus fortunately found my Superior.

I began my work in the house of a painter, an old widower, who had two or three boarders staying with him, besides a domestic servant. I there formed a small congregation, said Mass, and on Sundays delivered an exhortation. In a short time I had several good members in my little flock. One was an illustrious Scotch nobleman, chamberlain to the King, a great servant of God, who remained on most affectionate terms with me until his return to Scotland. Another was a Genoese goldsmith,[1] much patronised by the Court. His daughter by his first wife was a Protestant, also her mother, an Englishwoman. I entered into friendly conversations with her on the subject of religion. Being of bright intellect, and fully persuaded of the truth of her Creed, she disputed very ably indeed; and if ever she had no answer to my objections, she said that any clergyman could easily give the solution. Thus she remained obstinate for a long time, and particularly objected to our devotion to the Blessed Virgin, the Angels, and Saints. Finally, however, it pleased God to convert her, which came to pass in this way. She began to have frightful dreams in

[1] Francisco Fanelli, 1610–1665, a statuary, a native of Florence, came to England during the reign of Charles I., and was celebrated for his highly finished work. During the Commonwealth he went to Paris. See Dict. of National Biogr., *s.v.*

her sleep; one night she dreamt the devil was dragging her to the gate of hell, and was just on the point of hurling her down. Another night she thought she had come to see me, to be received into the Church, but that the devils held her back and would not let her free. A third night she saw in her sleep the Blessed Virgin in great glory, surrounded by numerous angels, and heard her say: "The Catholic faith is the True faith indeed." These and similar dreams continuing to disturb her, she came to me and asked for more positive instruction on the subject of the Catholic faith, which preoccupied her so much even in sleep. She was received in due time, and later on married a Dutchman, a Catholic, who was a landscape painter much renowned at Court. For many years she led a very virtuous life, and died in my presence after long suffering, borne with holy resignation. She had been instrumental in the conversion of two friends of hers, highly respectable ladies.

The artist in whose house I lived was a German, and a very peculiar man. On certain evenings some noblemen came to him to drink chocolate and exquisite wines, which he kept in his cellar, and partake of other delicacies. One was a venerable baronet,[1] who had had an income of twenty thousand

[1] Sir William Russell, of Strensham, co. Worcester, was created a baronet in the lifetime of his father, Sir Thomas Russell, Knt. He took a prominent part in the Civil War, and devoted a considerable portion of his fortune to the service of the King. Notwithstanding this, his estates were valued at £3000 a year when the Order of the Royal Oak was projected. Sir William's grandfather, Sir John Russell, married Elizabeth, daughter of Ralph

scudi (£5000), but, having been loyal to the King during the Civil War, suffered the loss of more than two-thirds of his fortune. I was on terms of intimate friendship with him, and he, though not a Catholic himself, was well affected towards Catholics, for whose Creed he began to have great esteem. One day he submitted to me a grave doubt, namely, whether it was preferable to take some good position at Court, and thus to rise in the King's favour, and to regain possession of his own and his father's money, lost during the war, or to become a Catholic, and to attend to the salvation of his own soul, in order to secure the riches of paradise? I replied, in accordance with truth, that it was incomparably better to embrace the Catholic faith and serve God in spirit and in truth, and thus to gain life everlasting, than to possess all the riches of the world. He resolved to act upon this advice, and when he was well grounded in the principles of our religion, I accompanied him to his house, situated in a most delightful part of the town, in order to select a room suitable for an oratory. I directed its being fitted up in the best taste, with rich and costly ornaments; an altar with a magnificent silver Crucifix, by Signor Fanelli, the Genoese silversmith already referred to;

Sheldon, of Beoley, co. Worcester, Esq., the representative of a very ancient Catholic family. His sister, Elizabeth, was the wife of John Honyold, Esq., of Blackmore Park, Worcestershire, another staunch Catholic. He himself married Frances, daughter of Sir Thomas Reade, of Barton, co. Berks; and had with other issue Francis, his successor, and Mary, married first to Wingfield, second Earl of Ardglass, and secondly to Charles Cotton, the poet, who died in 1687. Sir William died in 1669, and was buried at Strensham.

a large chalice and paten of silver gilt, which had belonged to a parish church before the Reformation. After the baronet's death these ornaments were handed to me, and now belong to the mission. Having made a general confession, the nobleman was received into the Church, and took the Sacrament at my Mass. For several years I celebrated in his chapel twice a week, he himself serving at the altar and receiving Communion. But he would never allow any one else to be present. He gave me a pension of one hundred ducats a year.

In the early days of my mission in England I met a doctor of medicine, physician to the Queen, a Catholic, and former fellow-student of mine at the English College in Rome.[1] He married a widow, who by her first husband had two sons and three daughters, all well provided for. He told me his wife was not a Catholic, though he had made every effort to convert her. Being one day invited to dinner, I made her acquaintance, and repeating my visit, soon won her confidence. We freely discussed religious questions, with the result that in less than two months I could receive her into the Church.

[1] Sir George Wakeman, *alias* George Gifford, born 1626, entered the English College on 27th October 1647, and left Rome in 1650 for Padua, where he probably took his degree (Foley, "Records," vols. iv. p. 436, and vi. p. 370). He became physician to Charles II., though not on the roll of the Royal College. When charged with conspiracy by Titus Oates, the King himself took up his defence. "Sir George Wakeman," was Charles's answer, "is a simple man and poor, but always had ye reputation of an honest man" (Deposition at the Public Record Office). Acquitted by Parliament, he left England for Paris, where he died, date unknown, before 1697.

She not only took up all our devotional practices, but also showed herself most zealous in the matter of fasting and abstinence. Her eldest daughter, arriving in London some time afterwards, also became a convert to the Catholic faith, as did eventually the other daughters, a brother, two nephews, the only sister of Mrs. Wakeman, and several servants. I spared no pains in instructing them all, and making them well acquainted with Catholic practices, and administering the sacraments to them.

While yet living in the house of the artist in Westminster, a Scotch colonel, belonging to the noble family of the Hamiltons,[1] came to reside in the neighbourhood. He had been knighted by the King of England, and eventually entered the service of the King of Denmark, by whom he was greatly esteemed. His wife, a Catholic, made my acquaintance with a view of obtaining access to my chapel. Being sometimes invited to dinner, I waited for an opportunity to lead the conversation towards religious matters, but was given to understand that the best time to get a hearing was when the colonel was at cards. Consequently I joined him at a game, being anxious to gain his immortal soul, for it was well known that he had no religion whatever. God, in His infinite mercy, granted my desire, and from the atheist he had been Colonel Hamilton

[1] On 11th May 1642 a baronetcy was conferred on John Hamilton, Esq., of London, probably the officer referred to. No further information regarding him or his descendants is to be found. The title did not exist in 1726.—*Burke*, "*Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies*," 1844, p. 239.

became a staunch Catholic, and persevered in his faith even when in Denmark, although he found but little support there, considering how few Catholics there are in that kingdom. I have reason to believe that he and his wife did much good to their neighbour. One day it happened that the King entertained a large party at dinner in his picturesque palace, and, among other things, he asked his guests to what religion they belonged? When the Colonel's turn came, the King said, "And you, Hamilton, what is your religion?" "Sire," was the answer, "I belong to a religion which teaches me to be loyal to your Majesty." Whereupon the King replied, "I do admire your ready wit; you will never betray your Creed."

Near us lived the widow of an officer, who had commanded a regiment in the service of the Duke of Moscow. The lady, an accomplished person and excellent entertainer, had accompanied her husband to those remote regions. Her daughter, having been brought up in a noble Catholic family, remained steadfast in her Faith, and, like many people, secretly attended my chapel. Eventually she married an officer in the King's Guards, a Catholic like herself. I frequently called on the widow, and made many an effort to win her to the Faith, but she was wary, and closed her ears to my arguments. I soon perceived that I should never conquer her obstinacy except by perseveringly inculcating the first principles of religion. I continued my efforts for several years, until at last it pleased God to call her to the Catholic Church. After her conversion, she was afflicted with almost incredible trials. First she experienced

the pinch of poverty, for her husband, a soldier of fortune, left her no income, his only property consisting in a collection of arms, which was soon disposed of, and realised very little money. Her own relations, though well to do, treated her with extreme harshness. In short, Our Lord willed her to suffer much. At the time of the plague all the inhabitants of her house died, and she was left quite alone, with the doors locked by public authority. Her only means of subsistence was what little alms and provisions I was able to bring her every second evening. She used to lower a basket from her window, and while filling it with what I had brought, I used to say a few words of consolation to keep up her courage, promising to return again soon. Thus she remained resigned. As soon as the violence of the epidemic had somewhat subsided (at one time there died as many as six or seven thousand persons a week) her door was opened, and I could visit her in her apartment. The confinement in a small room had brought on a disease, and she was suffering acute pain. One day she said with great joy that the Blessed Virgin had appeared to her, and had announced her speedy deliverance from suffering. And so it was, for in a short time she died a holy death.

Leaving Westminster and the house of the artist, I took lodgings at a place called Covent Garden, and soon had as fellow-boarder a Scotch Catholic, the Earl of Kinnoul.[1] He came every day

[1] William Hay succeeded his father as third Earl of Kinnoul in 1644. He married, first, Mary, only daughter of Robert Brudenell,

to my little chapel to hear Mass, and sometimes joined me in reciting the Divine Office, and frequently went to confession and communion. Thus I often said two Masses, one at home and the other at the houses of Catholics. Through the Earl I became acquainted with many Scotchmen, and reconciled among others a Scotch colonel, a relative of the former; also, some years later, and at the cost of much patience, the brother of the Earl, who had come to live in London. An illustrious Scotch knight (cavaliere) was also brought to the Church through my instrumentality, and a lady, wife of the Lord Clerk Registers of Scotland,[1] who during a dangerous illness had learnt that it was better to die a Catholic than a Protestant. Having received the sacraments, she rallied contrary to all expectation, and since her recovery I am uncertain as to her perseverance. Others of lower rank received the true Faith in similar fashion.

second Earl of Cardigan, by whom he had no issue; and, secondly, Catherine, daughter of Charles, Viscount Cranborne, and granddaughter of William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, by whom he had two sons, who successively held the title. The Earl died on 28th March 1677, and was buried at Waltham Abbey. Being an only son, the "Brother of the Earl" alluded to by Father Bede was most probably one of his brothers-in-law, George Keith, eighth Earl Marishal, or Sir James Baird of Auchmedden in Buchan, Aberdeenshire, Knt.

[1] *Maestro degli Archivj del Regno di Scozia* means probably the dignity mentioned in the text, in which case the convert would be Lady Agnes, daughter of Sir William Gray of Pittendrum, and widow of Sir James Dundas of Newliston. She married Sir Archibald Primrose (Lord Carrington), who held the dignity of Lord Clerk Registers of Scotland from 1661 till his death on 27th November 1679, by whom she had an only son, Archibald, first Earl of Rosebery.

Whilst living at Covent Garden I had occasion to take a certain journey, and on my return visited the ancient castle of the Baronet whom I had converted at the beginning of my missionary career. While staying there his daughter, the Countess of Ardglass,[1] arrived with her little girl. The Earl, her husband, had gone to Bath for the waters, and left her his carriage and six horses, and, as it seemed to me, a small number of servants considering her rank. As I was on my way to London, the Baronet asked me to travel with the Countess, who was also going thither. It being a journey of some sixty (Italian) miles, I had ample opportunity, when alone with the Countess, to converse on religious matters. Being young and spirited, she extolled the Protestant religion above all others; but finding herself confronted by my arguments, soon came to the end of her knowledge. At first she was visibly confused at her defeat, but being an energetic person, she resolved to become a Catholic without delay. She often came to me for instruction, and finally, after a general confession and the abjuration of her errors, received the Sacrament. I provided her with Catholic books, and she appeared to be firmly established in the Catholic faith. Two or three weeks after her conversion the Earl, her husband,

[1] Mary, daughter of Sir William Russell, of Strensham (see note 1, p. 209) married Wingfield, second Earl of Ardglass, who died in 1668, leaving an only son, Thomas Cromwell, third Earl of Ardglass, who married a daughter of Michael Boyle, the Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, and Lord Chancellor of Ireland. Father Bede was most probably on his return from Hereford, where he had visited Father Joseph.

arrived in London, and seeing a "Manual of Prayers"[1] and other books in her room, asked whose they were? "Then you want to be a Papist?" he said, and she answered, "What does it matter to you whether I belong to one religion or another? you have not to answer for my soul, but I myself." The Earl was displeased for several days, but, seeing her determination, left her in peace. She derived much consolation from the society of some Catholic ladies with whom she became acquainted, and the old Baronet, her father, whom I kept well informed of all that took place, wrote to say that in all his life he had never had more welcome news.

After a while the Earl invited me to his castle at Throwley (Staffordshire), about a hundred Italian miles from London. He showed me much kindness during my visit, but otherwise was rather reserved, and anything but a devout man. I received his daughter, a girl of fifteen, into the Church, and having chosen a convenient room for a chapel, returned to London to order rich ornaments for the altar, and everything requisite for the celebration of Mass. Soon after it pleased God to take the Earl to Himself, and I was requested by the widow to return to Throwley. The young Earl, then about twelve, came to Mass, to the Litany, and to my sermons, but would never make his confession, and eventually became one of the most licentious nobles of the kingdom. I went three or four times from London to the residence of the Countess, and she visited me about the same number of times, but

[1] The favourite prayer-book of the English Catholics.

otherwise she availed herself of the ministry of a neighbouring priest.

One day, when staying with her (December or January 1669–1670), it was arranged that we should travel together to London. On the eve of our departure, a Catholic nobleman paid us a visit, and being always well informed of everything that happened, he warned the Countess that the bishop,[1] who had heard of my visit to Throwley, and knew that on a certain date I was likely to pass through Lichfield, his cathedral town, on my way to London, had decided to waylay me and commit me to prison; for he was greatly incensed at my having received the Countess and her daughter into the Church. We arranged that the Countess should pass the first night at the residence of her father (Sir William Russell), while one of his sons escorted me across country to the house of a Catholic gentleman, and that on the following day I should proceed on my journey, avoiding Lichfield, and rejoin the Countess's party later on. This was done, and so "I escaped his hands in the name of the Lord." I had once been staying for some days at the house of this gentleman,[2] saying Mass in his chapel, and investing in the scapular, his wife, six of his children, and as many servants, and I consider my escape from the bishop as a reward for the benefits conferred on this family. The Countess, since the death of her father,

[1] John Hacket, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry from 1661–1671.

[2] Probably Thomas Honyold, of Blackmore Park, whose mother was a sister to Countess Ardglass. By his first wife he had five sons and as many daughters, and by his second wife one daughter. Some of these children were not yet born in 1670.

continued to pay my pension of twenty pounds a year.

At that time, among my penitents was the principal maid of the Countess of Castlemaine. The Earl,[1] a very devout man, sent one day for a Protestant minister, to be prepared by him for Communion. Happening to find the works of our holy Mother St. Theresa, which I had given to the maid, he began reading them, and became so disturbed that he dismissed the clergyman, saying that he could not receive the sacrament. In fact it was rumoured that he had had some vision or revelation about religion. The maid lost no time in sending for a Jesuit father[2] who was a favourite with the Earl, with the result that he became a Catholic, even one of the most influential members of the Church, owing to his exemplary piety, prudence, authority, and some excellent works he wrote in defence of the Faith.

The Countess also became a Catholic[3] during an

[1] Sir Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemaine, died in Wales in 1705. See Gillow, Bibl. Dict., vol. i. p. 425.

[2] Possibly Father George Harvey, S.J. See Foley, "Records," vol. vii. p. 342. The Earl remained warmly attached to the Jesuits, to whose college at Liège he gave the farm Chèvremont.

[3] Barbara Villiers, wife of Sir Roger Palmer, Countess of Castlemaine, Duchess of Cleveland, &c. The exact date of her conversion is not known, but according to Pepys rumours of it were afloat in December 1663. Yet even before that date she ostentatiously accompanied the Queen to the Catholic service. Considering her remarkable charity (of which more anon), one would like to think that in her case "Charity covered a multitude of sins." Her three sons by Charles II. were Charles FitzRoy, born 1662, Duke of Cleveland and Southampton (in the lifetime of his mother); Henry FitzRoy, born 1663, Duke of Grafton; and George FitzRoy, born 1665, Earl, afterwards Duke, of Northumberland.

illness which occurred some years later. She was created Duchess by the King, by whom she had three sons, who at present belong to the first peers of the realm. One day she sent for me and told me she was resolved to leave the Court and retire to her own house, and live with her Catholic household, and she requested me to accept the position as chaplain and tutor of her sons. She was then separated from the Earl, her husband, by mutual consent, he having left England and gone to Constantinople and other distant places. It was a dangerous thing to contradict so powerful a person, wherefore I only answered that a matter of such importance required due consideration, and that I should give my decision in two days. Some of my friends advised me to accept the proposal, while others were of the opposite opinion. But feeling that I could not in conscience accede to her wish I returned and said, that being Superior of this mission, and having a great deal of business to transact, I could not neglect my duties, as I certainly should have to do if I devoted myself entirely to her service as became a chaplain, and I begged to be excused. For a time she seemed satisfied, but afterwards urged me repeatedly to take up my abode in her house, which was a magnificent palace (Chiswick) near the Royal Park, but at a distance from Court.

In spite of my refusal I remained in her favour. On one occasion she gave me forty scudi (£8) partly for the poor, partly for the mission. Another time, when I presented her with the first volume of

the works of St. Theresa, which I had recently published in English, she made a donation of twelve scudi. When she was informed of the arrival of a new missioner of our Order,[1] she immediately dismissed her chaplain and requested me to allow this father to fill the vacant place. For as I myself would not undertake the charge, she insisted upon having one of our Order. The Religious in question being a learned priest, an excellent preacher, and withal a man of good presence and dignified bearing, seemed well adapted to his new office. The Duchess assigned him a pension, made arrangements for his special mode of life, and engaged a valet to wait upon him while his pupils, the young Dukes, served his Mass in turn. Coming in contact with persons of high rank, and enjoying the protection of the Duchess and the King himself,[2] he had excellent opportunity of labouring for the salvation of souls. At the outbreak of the Plot he was obliged to go to Holland, where he at present is ill; but the Superior of the Dutch Mission tells me that he hopes to return to England after his recovery.

[1] Father John Joseph of St. Angelus, Roger Kemble, of Hereford, born 1640, took the habit at Louvain in 1658, and was professed there on 26th May of the following year. He joined the mission on 23rd June 1670. Having finally left the Order, the date of his death is not on record. He was the brother or cousin of Fathers Francis of the Child Jesus and Simon Stock of St. John Baptist. See Part III. chap. v. Nos. 1 and 11.

[2] Charles II. knew the Order long before his accession. When at Cologne he was a frequent guest at the Carmelite monastery.

CHAPTER IV

MORE CONVERSIONS

A deathbed conversion—House-rent—Catholic education in London and Paris—The school at Hereford—Father Bede's nephew.

ALTHOUGH I frequently dealt with persons in high position, I felt that my time was more profitably spent among the humbler classes.

A friend and penitent of mine begged me to visit her aunt, an aged lady living in the outskirts of London, on the other side of the river Thames. I willingly complied with her request, and suggested to the old lady to adopt the Catholic faith in order to insure her salvation. She replied that she had no such intention, nor did she consider it at all necessary, because she could be quite as easily saved in her own religion, and answered my reasons to the contrary with quotations from Holy Scripture, with which she was well acquainted. Thus we entered upon a long discussion, she being so obstinate that I thought it a mere loss of time and rose to bid her good-bye. But she kept me back, saying: "Please, sir, do not go yet." I replied that I was sorry to leave her, but since she was determined to cling to error she must take the responsibility

upon herself. She asked me to pray for her, whereupon her niece, who was present, and myself knelt down, exhorting the old lady also to recommend herself to the mercy of God. After praying in silence for about a quarter of an hour, I inquired whether God had given her any light? She answered that He had inspired her to become a Catholic and to die in that Faith, and in this resolution she persevered. Having given the necessary instructions on the most important articles of Faith, I showed her how to prepare for a general confession, and promised to return in two days. When next I saw her, she seemed in excellent disposition, and made her confession as if she had been a Catholic all her life. Two days later, I brought Holy Communion, which she received with the greatest devotion, and in two more days she peacefully breathed her last, being assisted and comforted to the end by her devoted niece, to whom, under God, this conversion must be attributed. I left some alms, and performed the funeral rites in her room, as is customary in this country; I also received another relative of this pious person into the Church.

Having heard of two sisters, living very quietly in poor apartments, and earning their bread by needlework, I visited them on several occasions, and assisted them with alms. Having thus obtained their confidence, I instructed them in the doctrines of the Church, and in due time received them into the fold. By means of some further assistance they were able to take rooms near the

Royal Exchange, where they earned a great deal more than in their former lodging, and with the grace of God they led a very happy and devout life.

A poor but respectable widow, with a daughter of about thirteen, called one day in great affliction, because, being unable to pay her rent, the landlord had seized all her little property, even the bed and clothes, and had locked the room in her face. I at once went to see him, and found him to be a rough fellow, determined to get his rent by fair means or foul. I then and there paid the arrears, which amounted to ten scudi (£2), as well as some small debts for bread, and other necessaries of life, amounting in all to three scudi. By my advice, the lady moved to some other quarter, where she found Catholic friends, and thus I left her much consoled.

A pious lady in Paris having kindly offered to provide for the education of two English girls, to prevent their falling into Protestant hands, I was charged to make a choice among the numerous poor under my care. After a time, the mother of one of these girls, a very troublesome woman, spread the report that the King of France, being ordered to bathe in children's blood, I had sent her daughter to Paris to be killed, and other absurd stories. The truth is that the girl received an excellent education, and was shown great kindness.

I knew two young persons, of whom one was leading a bad life, while the other, of comely appearance,

but still perfectly innocent, was in great danger of being led astray by her elder sister. To prevent such a misfortune, I placed her in a school for young ladies of gentle birth, established by a pious lady at some distance from town.[1] But even there she was not safe from the designs of certain licentious young men, who had discovered her whereabouts. The Lady Superior, having a branch house in Paris, was willing to send her if some one would pay for the journey. I succeeded in interesting a Catholic Marchioness in the case, who willingly contributed twenty scudi, while I gave the remaining twelve. Thus the poor girl was snatched from impending evil, and obtained the benefit of a thorough Catholic education.

I daily visited the Catholics, especially in the poorer quarters of London, administering the sacraments to them, and distributing alms to the destitute, the infirm, and the helpless. Being attached to no chaplaincy, I was perfectly free in my movements, or I should never have been able to do much work of this kind.

When I arrived in England, I found only four Carmelites working on the mission, two in London (Fathers Anselm and John Baptist) and two at a distance (Father Constantine at Longwood, in Hampshire, and Father Joseph, near Hereford). I visited one of them, who lived in a very remote place, more than a hundred miles from London. Though advanced in years, he had a great aptitude for the

[1] Mother Frances Bedingfield, of the "Institute of Mary" or "Dames Anglaises," Hammersmith House. We shall hear more about herself and her work in the following chapters.

education of youths, and I sent him several boys from London, who were able to pay sixty scudi a year for board and lodging. He taught them English and Latin, and gave them excellent instructions in Christian virtue, thus gradually forming them to the religious life. From this seminary I sent at divers times ten young men to our novitiate houses in Flanders, Paris, Rome, and Venice of whom, at the present moment, five are labouring on the English Mission.[1] When they had finished their grammar under Father Joseph, I sent them to Bruges for rhetoric, and thence to one or other of the novitiates. This good father, being no longer able to remain safely in the country parts on account of the growing persecution, returned to London, where he took from fifteen to twenty boys of the best Catholic families, until a Protestant minister interfered, and then he had to relinquish his task.

More than twenty years having elapsed since I saw my relatives, and having important affairs to attend to in the West of England, I took the opportunity of paying a visit to my native place, a hundred and forty miles from London. Though it was well known that I was a priest and a religious, I received the most charming welcome from my Protestant friends. Seeing a little boy of ten, the son of a half-sister, I conceived a great affection for him, and

[1] Fathers Lucian of St. Theresa (Part III. chap. i.), Edmund of St. Joseph (Part III. chap. ii.), Simon Stock of St. John Baptist (Part III. chap. v. No. 2), Richard of St. Joseph (ibid., No. 3), Bede of St. Joseph (ibid., No. 4). Another, Father Louis (ibid., No. 5), had already returned to Louvain when Father Bede wrote the above narrative.

asked him whether he would like to come to London with me. He did not know what to say, but after two days his father called and told me that the boy could neither eat nor sleep, so great was his desire to go with me. I was very much pleased, but did not show it, only said that I could not take him with me, but if he would bring him to London I would take care of him there. I made this suggestion because I preferred that my taking charge of the boy should result from the father's own request. Thinking of his large family, which was still likely to increase, this being his eldest child, he at once gave his consent, on condition that I should never send him abroad. I would accept no conditions, but insisted upon having the entire control of the child or none at all, and I gained my point. My nephew, having spent a few years with Father Joseph, went to Bruges and Lille for further studies, being talented and an innocent soul withal. When I went to Venice (May 1680), I sent for him and another English boy whom I had met in Flanders. They arrived safely, and were at once received at the novitiate at Vicenza, but are at present at Brescia for their philosophy.[1] Three more English boys followed me to Venice from London, and, having received much kindness from the Provincial, are now studying in Malta, with the exception of one who has not yet finished his novitiate.[2]

[1] See Part III. chap. v. Nos. 8 and 9.
[2] Ibid., Nos. 10, 11, and 14.

CHAPTER V

ON CONVENTS

Rescue work—Hon. Gertrude Aston—Lady Catherine Sedley—The Duchess of Beaufort—Two actresses.

WITH regard to ladies entering convents, I may mention some instances where my help and advice were sought. There was a Scotchwoman of gentle birth, sister of a Baronet, and married to an English Captain, with whom she lived for some years in London, until he left England for Madrid, where he had obtained an appointment at the English Embassy. I became acquainted with the lady, who showed herself inclined towards the Catholic Church. The daughter, then in her thirteenth year, resembled her mother in every respect, uniting nobility of race and refinement of character with personal beauty. On his return, after an absence of about two years, the Captain was much incensed at finding his wife and daughter Catholics, and swore to kill me the first time he met me. He treated his wife so badly that they had to separate, for, being an atheist, he would not suffer a Catholic in his house. He took away his daughter from the establishment (Hammersmith) where I had placed her, and removing her rosary and books of devotion, kept her under strict

supervision. I did my best to encourage her through the instrumentality of a Catholic lady, and sometimes, when I knew the Captain was out, I drove in that lady's carriage to his house, with the result that the young lady remained steadfast in the faith, and was much strengthened by the spiritual help I was able to give her. After a while the father took her to the theatre and even to Court, where he would have sacrificed the honour of his own daughter to the licentiousness of a certain young nobleman, the son of a Duke, but for the Duke himself, who took pity on her. Later on she went with her maid to live in handsome apartments, where she was visited by the young nobleman. It cost me much trouble to find her address, but at last I was able to call on her and keep her firm in the faith, though I could not protect her from sin. When she left that place and went to live with an Earl at Court, I lost all hope of ever seeing her again. Some years passed by, when one day the Earl came to see me, and said that the lady would not give up her faith, and was most troublesome and self-willed. Knowing what influence I had with her, he requested me to try whether I could not persuade her to go abroad, and promised to assist me in every way. I could not have wished for a better opportunity of bringing back a strayed sheep to the fold, and at once set to work. I drove with her to the house of Mother Bedingfield at Hammersmith, where the young lady had received part of her education. I had known Mother Bedingfield in Rome, and had met her in Paris, and when she came to live in London I helped

her to the utmost of my power in establishing a boarding-school for the daughters of Catholics, which became a perfect seminary, and a powerful instrument for the propagation and support of the Catholic faith in England. Since my return to Italy, my brother, Father Lucian, has lived there, and during the recent persecution (the Oates Plot) these ladies have done and suffered marvellous things for the Glory of God and the good of souls, and from a small beginning they have come to be about fifty in community. The young lady whose story I am telling was well received, and treated like a queen. Mother Frances Bedingfield and myself represented to her what a favourable opportunity this would be for the salvation of her soul, and she at last gave her consent, on condition that I should accompany her to Paris and introduce her to some convent. This conclusion being arrived at, the Earl expressed his entire satisfaction, declaring that if I had the least apprehension he would see the King himself, and obtain his consent for the removal of the lady. But as I was quite satisfied with his own word, it only remained for him to make the necessary arrangements for the journey. He gave me four hundred scudi, and sent his own carriage and six to take us as far as Dover, whence we crossed the Channel to Calais and proceeded to Paris, while the lady's maid returned in her master's carriage to London. A cruel disappointment waited me at Paris, for two English noblemen who accompanied the English Ambassador, when calling on the young lady, disappeared with her. For three days I was without news of her, but

at last the Ambassador discovered their whereabouts, no doubt to the great disappointment of the Evil one. I placed her as lady-boarder in a convent, with a maid to wait on her, and a pension of four hundred scudi a year, which the Earl promised to pay regularly.[1] The two noblemen soon afterwards lost their lives, the first, and the most corrupt of the two, in a duel with an officer at the Theatre Royal, the second in the war against Holland; but while he had time to make his confession, the former could not even invoke the name of Jesus.

A daughter of a Lord[2] was in great affliction

[1] See the "Life of Mother Mary Ward," edited by Rev. H. J. Coleridge, S.J. (2 vols., 1882 and 1885), and "St. Mary's Convent, Micklegate Bar, York," edited by the same, 1887. Mother Frances Bedingfield, born 1616, joined the foundress of the "Dames Anglaises," Mother Mary Ward, in Rome, and remained her constant companion until her death in 1645. She then went to Paris for the foundation of a new house, of which the Marquis of Worcester became the principal benefactor. She returned to England in 1669, and with the help of Father Bede established the Hammersmith school. Thence she went to York for the opening of a branch house, which is still flourishing. Having undergone imprisonment in Ousebridge gaol, she retired to Munich, where she died in 1704. The registers of the Paris house being lost, it was not possible to identify the heroine of this episode. The "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series," has also been searched in vain for the name of her father.

[2] Hon. Gertrude Aston, daughter of Lord Aston of Forfar, and his wife, Lady Mary Weston, daughter of the Earl of Portland. Her youngest sister, Hon. Anne Aston, married Henry Somerset of Pountley Court, Gloucestershire, grandson of Henry, first Marquis of Worcester. From her childhood Sister Gertrude of the Annunciation (Aston) had had a desire to enter religion, so much so that she tried her vocation in the Convent of the Canonesses of the Holy Sepulchre at Liège (now at New Hall, near Chelmsford, Essex), where she remained a year, without, however, taking the habit. The life in this convent being too austere for her delicate

because her parents desired her to enter a convent, whereas she herself was anxious to enter the holy state of matrimony, for which reason she had already left one convent, where she had been living for some time. Her younger sister, married to the grandson of a marquis, was my penitent, and requested me to see her sister, who at the time was living with her father fifteen (Italian) miles from London, in a palace large enough to accommodate the King and his whole Court (Standon Lordship, now in the possession of the Duke of Wellington). The father enjoyed a revenue of fifteen thousand ducats. I went there, and having said Mass and delivered a suitable exhortation, had an interview with the young lady, who desired me to return on some other occasion

health, she went for a year to the Augustinian Convent at Louvain, where she found several near relations. But, having taken a dislike to the religious life, she returned to England, where it pleased God to afflict her with many crosses, not the smallest of which was great scrupulosity, from which she only recovered under the wise direction of Father Bede. Their pilgrimage to N. D. de Montaigu led to her entrance at the Carmelite Convent of Lierre. When the carriage drew up at the convent, Miss Aston, noticing the large cross over the gate, was filled with so much joy that she would not hear of any other convent, although neither she herself nor Father Bede were at all known there. She waited at the hotel while Father Bede was making the necessary arrangements with the Prioress, Mother Margaret of Jesus (Mostyn), who seemed not very enthusiastic about her new postulant. She was, however, allowed to take the habit on 25th May 1671, and was professed on 31st May of the following year. She died on 18th June 1682, aged forty-five. From the beginning she showed signs of great virtue and perfection, bearing all the austerities of the Order with courage and fervour, and practising humility and obedience in a remarkable degree, so that her biographer asserts that she reached the height of sanctity even in this life.—*From the Archives of the Carmelite Convent at Darlington formerly at Lierre.*

and hear her general confession. It was then arranged that we should make a pilgrimage to the miraculous shrine of N. D. de Montaigu, near Lierre, in Flanders, the Lord, her father, not only giving his consent, but also empowering me to draw up a deed of settlement in the event of his daughter entering a convent. Thus we crossed over to Flanders, to visit the famous shrine, without calling at any English convent, or seeing any of our fellow-countrymen. It being time of war, we sometimes required an escort to pass safely from one place to another. But at last we arrived unharmed at the shrine, and spent two days in devotional exercises, the lady presenting a magnificent ring to the Madonna. Proceeding by another route, under protection of a mounted escort, we came to a town called Lierre, where there was a convent of English Carmelite nuns. Leaving the lady at the hotel, I went to the convent to see the Rev. Mother (Ven. Margaret Mostyn), whom I made acquainted with the purpose of our journey. We received an invitation to dine on the next day with the chaplain of the convent, an English priest of great renown, whom I had already known in Rome.[1] He lived in a very

[1] Rev. Edmund Canon Bedingfield, born 15th August 1615, made his studies at St. Omer, Liège, and Seville. He appears on the Pilgrim-book of the English College in Rome in September 1644, when he made the acquaintance of Father Bede. After a few years spent at Antwerp as chaplain to the English Carmelite nuns, he went in the same capacity to Lierre, fulfilling his duties from the foundation of the convent till his death (1648–1680), without ever drawing a salary. He held a canonry at St. Gumar's Church, where his tomb, surmounted by a statue of St. Theresa, may yet be seen.—*Gillow, Bibl. Dict.*, vol. i. p. 165.

nice house, with a garden, close by the convent. Besides his chaplaincy, he was a Canon at the Collegiate Church. I accompanied the lady to his house, where we were well received and invited to stay. After being introduced to the Prioress and some of the sisters, and reading the life of St. Theresa, the young lady became so desirous of joining this community that she requested me to make all the necessary arrangements about her dowry. Everything having been settled, in a few days she took the habit with intense fervour and consolation, and with perfect satisfaction on all sides, and her progress in virtue was such that the Prioress wrote to me more than once to say that she began where others usually end.

God permitted that I should lose on this occasion the favour and benevolence of her father (Lord Aston), and in fact of the whole family, because, in spite of the power given me, he found fault with the settlement drawn up by me, and would not even refund my travelling expenses. However, my conscience assured me that, far from having acted wrongfully, I had rendered a signal service to a soul, to the convent, and to the family itself for the greater glory of God, wherefore I have nothing to repent or to regret.

There are three convents of English Carmelites in Flanders, viz. at Antwerp (now Lanherne in Cornwall), Lierre (Darlington), and Hooghstraet (Chichester). Originally under the jurisdiction of the Provincial of Flanders, they were transferred to that of the Bishop in 1623, owing to the peculiar

position in which they found themselves. Subsequently many Dutch ladies joined these communities.

I also sent a lady of high rank to our convent at Mechlin, if I remember rightly.[1] Her parents settled her dowry in London, and I made a remittance to the nuns by means of Father Constantine, then a student at Lille.[2] That Sister gave herself up to a truly contemplative life, and if God prepares the way, she may perhaps, with the above-mentioned Sister, assist in founding some convents of our nuns in England.

At Ghent there is an abbey of English Benedictine nuns who, while erecting certain buildings, burdened themselves with debt to such an extent that they knew not where to turn for help, and already had taken steps to obtain from Rome the authorisation to sell their property, when God came to their assistance in an unexpected way. There was a most eccentric English nobleman,[3] with a revenue of

[1] The Archives of the convent at Mechlin being lost, the name of this lady could not be ascertained. At the time Father Bede wrote these memoirs the project of founding a Carmelite convent in London, under the auspices of Princess Eleanor d'Este, the Queen's aunt, seemed on the point of realisation.

[2] Nothing further is known of this Religious. His name will appear again in chap. viii. and Part III. chap. i.

[3] *Eccentric* is hardly the term to apply to the character of Sir Charles Sedley, "The Wit," whose wife, Lady Sedley, *née* Catherine Savage, daughter of the Earl of Rivers, is alluded to in this episode. Having been for some years deranged in her mind, she found an asylum at the Benedictine Abbey at Ghent, now represented by Oulton in Staffordshire. Her husband was only too glad to get rid of her, and willingly paid the pension of £400 a year, which was afterwards reduced to £200. She died at Ghent on 1st July 1705.

twenty thousand scudi, married to the daughter of a Catholic Earl, who after a few years of married life lost her reason, and had to be placed under the care of a Catholic physician, specially skilled in this kind of malady. Though I had not known her, I was requested to pay her a visit, as she greatly disliked being where she was. After giving me a most kind welcome, she complained of being constrained by force to take certain medicines which would impair her health; for excessive vanity was one of her delusions. I did my best to console her, expressing a hope that the rigorous treatment applied in her case would not wholly undermine her constitution, for I well knew that she had been far from an exemplary Catholic, and the chief object of my visit was to induce her to make a general confession. She replied that while under such restraint it was impossible for her to think of the service of God. It struck me that she spoke with great reverence of the Lady Abbess of Ghent, who at that time was in London collecting funds for her abbey. Taking leave of her, I went straight to the Abbess, and suggested that we should visit the lady together. We did so, but found her in tears because, as she explained to the Abbess, she could not possibly leave England. On my return the following day, the conversation turned principally on the Abbess, and

The Abbess, Dame Mary Knatchbull, left her abbey in October 1661, in order to collect funds for a new foundation at Dunkirk (now Teignmouth). Charles II., having become deeply indebted to her generosity when in exile, contributed £3000. (See Gillow, Bibl. Dict., vol. iv. p. 64, and "Annals of the English Benedictines at Ghent," London, 1894, p. 28.)

finally the lady sent me to her husband with a message to the effect that she was willing to go to Ghent. He was well pleased, and accompanied me back to her to make some further arrangements; after which we proceeded to the abode of the Abbess, where it was decided that the afflicted lady was to live with her at Ghent, a pension of four hundred pounds to be paid by the family. But the duty of accompanying the patient to the seaport devolved upon me, the abbess being unwilling to take charge of her. On the day of our departure, her husband told me that his wife wore jewels to the value of four thousand scudi (£800), and requested me to obtain them if possible. At first it seemed unlikely that the lady would ever part with them, but when we came near the sea she asked me to take care of them, and I gave half to the husband, restoring the remainder to the lady later on. They consisted of a gold watch studded with diamonds, and several other articles. Nothing whatever remained in my hands.

Having some business in Flanders the following year, I did not omit to call on the lady. Her first question was about the jewels. I said that her husband kept them for "Her Majesty," because she insisted on being addressed in that style. She answered in dreadful excitement: "I shall have the gates of the town closed, and you will go to prison," and left the room. After a while, I received a message that I was to stay, and presently she returned herself, very much calmed down, and said, quite cheerfully: "Sir, the cause for which I came hither no longer exists, and I am quite

willing to return to England." I had to politely decline the honour of accompanying Her Majesty, and left Ghent quietly. Many other incidents happened in regard to that case, but in brief I will only mention that the Lady Abbess was able in course of time to clear off the debts of her community, the pension of the lady in question being punctually paid, and proving a great help towards establishing the present prosperous state of the abbey.

One day, the most Eminent Cardinal of Norfolk (Howard), Almoner to the Queen, called on me with another Catholic nobleman, and told me that I should be doing a work of the greatest importance if I could only prevail on a certain lady,[1] with whom I was acquainted, to go and board in a convent, adding that the family were prepared to spend

[1] This somewhat mysterious affair relates to Lady Mary, daughter of Arthur, Lord Capel, and widow of Henry, Lord Beauchamp, who died in 1656, aged twenty-eight, leaving, besides three daughters, one son, William, who succeeded his grandfather as third Duke of Somerset. Subsequently Lady Mary married Henry, third Marquis of Worcester, who in 1667 succeeded to the title, and in December 1682 was created Duke of Beaufort, Lady Mary thus becoming "a great Duchess" and also "mother of many sons and daughters," namely, five sons and four daughters. Father Bede gives no clue to the reasons rendering a temporary retirement desirable. The Duke of Beaufort was immensely rich, but had the weakness to conform to the Established Church, and died in 1699. His wife survived him, dying on 7th January 1714, and was buried at Badminton. The intervention of Cardinal Howard is easily explained by the fact that one of the sisters of the Duke of Beaufort, Lady Anne, married Henry Howard, second son of Henry, Earl of Arundel. The convent in the Province of Liège was probably one of the Cistercian abbeys (nunneries) Val-Benoît, Robertmont, Viregnis, or La Paix-Dieu.

twenty thousand scudi (£5000), if only the person in question left England. I promised to do all in my power, and by means of the writings of St. Theresa, and kind persuasion, obtained, in less than two months, the consent of the lady to withdraw to a convent in the Province of Liège, a somewhat solitary, but most delightful place, where I left her well content with a lady companion, for in this case also I was requested to personally introduce the lady to the convent. Both the Cardinal and the relatives and friends of the lady were thoroughly satisfied, and the whole transaction was kept perfectly secret. But since then the lady has become a great Duchess, mother of many sons and daughters, but for brevity's sake I omit further particulars.

I could relate many more incidents of a similar kind, but I will content myself with the following concerning two actresses of the Theatre Royal. They belonged to the most frivolous class of their kind, and enjoyed no very high reputation. Moved with compassion for their souls, I made their acquaintance, and instructed them in the doctrines of the Catholic Church, for they were Protestants, and also persuaded them to abandon the stage, in order the better to care for their souls. They promptly followed my advice, and in their first fervour decided to go to Spain, do penance for their sins, and serve God with greater freedom. When I heard of their intention, I represented to them the foolishness and danger of such a step, with the result that they consented to the loss of

their passage-money, already paid down, and instead of Spain, chose to go on pilgrimage to Holywell, the miraculous spring of St. Winefrede, 150 miles from London. First of all they took a room in the house of a Catholic lady, to prepare themselves quietly for their change of life. They sold their theatrical wardrobe, and dressed like ordinary people, for their idea was to settle down in Flintshire, in a little farmhouse, keep a cow, and earn their livelihood, leading quite an eremitical mode of life. I told them to take seats in the coach, but they had made up their minds to walk all the way. However, being very delicate, and unaccustomed to walking, they soon found it necessary to take a conveyance. I gave them a letter of introduction to a Jesuit, a friend of mine, stationed at Holywell.[1] Having safely arrived at that sacred place, they gave great edification to every one, during their prolonged sojourn, as the Jesuit father told me by letter, so that he could only approve of their resolution of remaining there for good. The mothers of these two persons were also reconciled to the Church, and after many years spent in worldliness, gave sure proofs of sincere conversion. Holywell, where St. Winefrede was beheaded, has acquired its reputation from the miraculous spring, well known to English Catholics, on account of the numerous cures wrought by its waters, and through the intercession of the Saint.

[1] Father Humphrey Evans, S.J. (Foley, "Records," vol. v. p. 936).

CHAPTER VI

FURTHER LABOURS

The works of St. Theresa—The plague—Conversion of a civic officer—A clergyman's wife—A servant—The statue of the Madonna.

I HAVE already had occasion to speak of some graces which God has given to certain persons by means of the writings of St. Theresa. When I arrived in England, I found that many years previously her Life had been translated by one very devout to the saint.[1]

[1] There were two English translations of the Life of St. Theresa: 1. "The Lyf of the Mother Teresa of Jesus, Foundresse of the Monasteries of the Descalced or Bare-footed Carmelite Nunnes and Fryers of the First Rule. Written by herself at the commandement of her ghostly father, and now translated into English out of Spanish. By W. M. of the Society of Jesus. Imprinted in Antwerp by Henry Jaye. Anno MDCXI." (William Malone, S.J. ?—Foley, "Records," vol. vii. p. 481.) A small quarto volume.

2. "The Flaming Hart; or the Life of the glorious S. Theresa, Foundresse of the Reformation of the Order of the all-Immaculate Virgin Mother, our B. Lady of Mount Carmel. The history of her Life was written by the Saint in Spanish, and is newly translated into English in the year of our Lord God 1642. *Aut mori aut pati*: Either to die or else to suffer. Chap. xl. Antwerpe. Printed by Johannes Meursius. Anno MDCXLII." The author of this translation, which appeared for the first time in 1623, was Sir Toby Mathew, S.J.

The third edition, of which Father Bede treats in the above passage, began with the Book of Foundations, which had not yet been translated into English. For the better understanding of this

I bought up all the copies I could find, though they were few and expensive, and made use of them whenever I had an opportunity of doing something for the salvation of souls. But in order to have such efficacious instruments always at hand, I resolved to translate her complete works into English, and have them printed uniformly with the Italian edition in my possession. To this end I improved my orthography, which had been sadly neglected during my long residence abroad. I had not

work, the history of the foundation of the convent of Avila, which in the original forms part of the "Life," was inserted in this volume. "The second Part of the Life of the Holy Mother S. Teresa of Jesus; or the History of the Foundations. Written by herself. Whereunto are annexed her death, burial, and the miraculous incorruption and fragrancy of her body. Together with her treatise on the manner of visiting the monasteries of Discalced nuns. Printed in the year MDCLXIX." 4to, pp. 8+283+14. The next volume is entitled, "The Life of the Holy Mother S. Teresa, Foundress of the reformation of the Discalced Carmelites according to the Primitive Rule. Printed in the year MDCLXXI." 4to, pp. 4+72+328. The third volume has no title-page. It contains the "Way of Perfection, the Interior Castle, Conceptions on the Love of God, Meditations on the Lord's Prayer, Exclamations, Advices, Hymns, some letters, and an Index to all three volumes." 4to, pp. 4+413.

Abraham Woodhead, one of the translators (the other, alluded to by Father Bede, is not known) was born about 1608, and became Fellow of University College, Oxford, and in 1641 Proctor of the University. Later on he went to Rome, where he instructed George, Duke of Buckingham, in mathematics, and probably conformed to the Catholic Church. On his return to England he was re-elected Fellow of his college, but obtained permission for non-residence, ostensibly for the purpose of going abroad, but in reality on account of his change of religion. He lived very retired at Hoxton, near London, and died in 1678. At the outbreak of the Plot he was accused in Parliament for having been instrumental in the education of boys in the Catholic faith. See Anthony Wood, *Athenæ Oxon.*, and "Antiquities of Oxford."

advanced very far in my work when I learnt that others were engaged in the same task. On inquiry I found that a new translation was contemplated by two graduates of the University of Cambridge, converts to our Faith, most learned and pious men, who were leading a solitary life, spending their time and talents in the composition of controversial and devotional works for the good of their neighbour and for the glory of God. A friendship having sprung up between us, we agreed that they should undertake the translation, while I should find the funds for the publication, and we set to work without delay. The printer himself brought me the leaves as they left the press, and I hung them up to dry, and registered them for the binding. The bill for printing was very heavy, owing to the risk the printer, a Protestant, ran in publishing a forbidden book. One day a Government official caught him in the very act, and we were in danger of losing everything that had already been done, and being heavily fined besides. But God inspired him to return the confiscated leaves, after having kept them locked up in a closet for two or three weeks, and we had every reason to be thankful for being let off so easily.

At last the first volume in quarto was ready for distribution among our friends. The preface, five leaves, was written with so much piety, elegance, and art, that nothing better could be desired, and the translation itself was so well done, and rendered the Spanish so faithfully, that a Protestant Divine (Stillingfleet ?) through envy wrote a book against the saint and her spiritual works. His futile argu-

ments were fully answered in the preface to the second volume, and the objections raised against the saint and her supernatural favours were refuted on the authority of the Scriptures, the doctrine of the ancient fathers, and Christian antiquity. It would almost seem as if the opposition of this Protestant theologian had been especially providential, since it called for the learned treatise on the difficulties with which supernatural prayer is beset; while shedding full light on the perfections of the saint, the author rendered the understanding of her works comparatively easy.

On this occasion it became evident how much good is calculated to result from these holy books; for, unable to prevent their being printed, the devil did his utmost to hinder their publication, for which end he chose for his instrument the Bishop of London,[1] a great enemy of the Catholic Church. Apprehending the havoc they were likely to make among his own party, he lodged a complaint before the Privy Council against the insolence of Catholic priests in general, and of myself in particular, demanding a warrant to search my library, and thus hinder the publication. Leave having been granted him to confiscate all the English books in my possession, a crown official made his appearance quite unexpectedly, and as I happened to be out, the door of my room was forced. The Spanish Ambassador, on being informed, immediately directed one of his secretaries to protest against this violation of domicile of one of his staff. The official, producing the

[1] Humphrey Henchman, 1663–1675.

warrant, replied that my person being under Spanish protection, proceedings were directed not against me but only against my books, and confiscated between forty and fifty volumes in English, among others eight copies of the works of St. Theresa, the rest having been safely stored away in the Queen's palace in a large recess in the room of her confessor, a Dominican of Portuguese nationality, and a great friend of mine.[1] The bishop did not say very much, though he was greatly incensed, and determined to have his revenge; and, in fact, shortly afterwards in Privy Council raised the question of my apprehension. But to this, as might be expected, the King would not assent, but directed the first Secretary of State to inform the Spanish Ambassador how sorry he should be if I were arrested, and suggested that I should leave London for a while. On the Ambassador's advice, I went to stay from Christmas until Easter (1672 ?) at the house of a Catholic nobleman fifteen miles from London. Subsequently I returned, with the permission of the Ambassador, and resumed my various duties, saying Mass and hearing confessions, but only in the chapel of the Embassy, where I had a public confessional.

I remained in peace until the year 1678, when a most furious persecution broke out against the Catholics, but chiefly against priests. The Bishop of London[2] informed the Privy Council that I, mentioning my name, was hidden at the residence of the

[1] Father Vincent Torre, O.P. He eventually became Provincial of his Order, and died at Brussels on 24th August 1681.

[2] Henry Compton, late Bishop of Oxford.

Marquis de Burgomaniera, the Spanish Ambassador. The latter declined to protect me any longer, and so, by the advice of my friends and my brother missioners, I went to Flanders with a passport from the Embassy. Only a few days before I had said that, come what might, I should remain at my post, but being forced to yield to circumstances, I withdrew to the Continent.

In the year 1666 a fearful plague broke out in London, of which there died in the course of that year over one hundred thousand persons, although a great number had fled. The Portuguese Ambassador,[1] who had shortly before arranged the marriage of our King with the Infanta of Portugal, kept a large establishment with numerous servants, and a chapel with many chaplains, all of whom went abroad. Being offered the charge of the chapel, I resolved to remain in London, and began to say Mass and hear confessions there, a large congregation attending my daily services. After some time the chief steward committed to my care the entire household of thirteen persons, besides seven carriage horses, he himself having joined his family in a country place fifteen miles from town. The household money was sent in regularly, and I returned my accounts once a month. Our Lord blessed me with such excellent health that in the course of the whole year I did not once miss the celebration of Mass, but on the contrary was able to administer the sacraments to large numbers. The clerk who served my Mass died of the plague; so did one-half of the household, in-

[1] Don Francisco Ferreira Rebello.

cluding the coachman, although I took the greatest care of the sick, called in the doctor at the appearance of the first symptoms, and sent out for everything that was needful.. I was greatly disturbed through fear that the entire household might be seized, for I did not wish to lose the chapel, which proved so beneficial to the poor Catholics. The greater part of the year I was well assisted by an Irish priest. The duty of visiting those infected did not devolve upon me, certain priests having been told off for this purpose, and when any of them died another was substituted, so that neither those in health nor the sick were ever abandoned, as it too often happened in the case of poor Protestants; for many parish churches were closed, the ministers having fled with their wives and children for fear of contagion. Consequently, this proved a most fruitful year with regard to conversions, because Protestants, unable to find ministers of their own persuasion, were compelled to send for Catholic priests to be prepared for death, and thus had the happiness of dying in the true Faith. The Spanish Ambassador had left London, with his whole staff, for a large and beautiful palace on the river Thames, three miles from town, where he opened a public chapel, of which Father Anselm and some other priests were chaplains. Father John Baptist, an old missioner of our Order, remained in London, devoting himself to the service of the plague-stricken, although he did not belong to the number of those told off for this work. During that year I received a good many people into the Church, among others a young

lady and her brother, both of angelic innocence. But my chief labour was consoling and visiting poor Catholics, and relieving those in distress. I collected large sums, and added above a hundred scudi of my pension, yet the more I spent the more I seemed to receive. Thus there were two respectable persons with infants who entirely depended on me for their livelihood; by the end of the year I was able to send one to her friends in Ireland, while the other joined her husband, an officer, garrisoned at Tangier. The Duke of Norfolk having heard of my labours, placed certain sums at my disposal. But I shall never forgive myself for my neglect in the case of a poor man who one day sent for me. He was suffering from gout, quite crippled, and altogether in sore distress. Having relieved him of his most urgent needs, I directed him to the priest of the district, who was supposed to have considerable funds at his disposal. But from what I have since heard, I fear that the poor man died in great want.

Though not supposed to visit the plague-stricken, I had often to do so all the same. There was a Scotch colonel whom I had received into the Church, and who came to London almost at the end of the epidemic, but was nevertheless seized by illness. When called I found him suffering from the plague. I saw him several times, always remaining with him for a long while to hear his confession, prepare him for death, and administer the last sacraments. He died at a time when there were not more than twelve persons on the weekly

death-bill. Although I ran considerable risk in attending him, Our Lord, who had preserved me for a whole year, did not abandon me now. May He be blessed for ever.

The epidemic having ceased to rage so violently, the brother of the Ambassador returned to London, accompanied by the chief steward, and I delivered up everything into their hands. Satisfied with my administration, it only remained for them to pack up and join the Ambassador in France, whither he had preceded them on his way to Portugal.

A guardsman or civic officer, who during the plague had shown much kindness to Catholics, was suddenly seized with illness. At the request of a friend I went to see "the patient," as if, instead of a priest, I were a physician. I felt his pulse, and said that the malady was very serious, but that I would give him a powerful cordial to keep up his strength. As soon as I was left alone with the man, I locked the door and said, "You have shown much kindness to Catholics, and now Our Lord Jesus Christ is going to reward you for it. If you are anxious to save your soul by becoming a member of Christ's Church, I, a priest, am here to lend you my aid." Upon his answering that he would willingly embrace the true Faith, I explained to him the principal doctrines of the Church, prepared him for a general confession and Communion, and administered Holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction, at which I had to assist him like a nurse. Having performed all these rites, I opened the door and said to his wife, who had been waiting in an adjoin-

ing room, that I had discovered the true seat of the malady, and had given directions to the patient as to his future manner of life, and that I was now going to order a cordial. I went to the next apothecary, but before I could return learnt that the man had expired with every sign of eternal salvation.

It should be understood that missioners on similar occasions go out provided with the Blessed Sacrament and the Holy Oils, which are kept in small silver stocks made for the purpose. I afterwards became acquainted with the widow, who was on the point of being received into the Church when she married a Protestant, after which I discontinued my visits.

The widow of a Protestant clergyman, though a Catholic by birth, had left directions that her four children were to be brought up by a person noted for bigotry. When apparently on the point of death, she desired to return to the Church of her baptism, and to alter her will with respect to the children. At the request of a friend, I administered the sacraments to her, after which she gradually recovered, becoming a good Catholic and a devoted mother. She told me that, as I entered with the Blessed Sacrament, she perceived a glorious light illuminating the whole apartment, which, no doubt, was the cause of her marvellous recovery, and even of the cure of her soul. This wonderful light she saw only once.

For more than a year I frequently visited the maid-of-honour of one of the ladies-in-waiting to the Duchess of York, at present the Queen of

James II. Though fully persuaded of the truth of the Catholic Church, she feared that her conversion would lead to her dismissal, since she would no longer be able to accompany her mistress to the Protestant Church. Nevertheless she generously followed her conviction, risking not only the loss of her place but also that of her income, her father, a bigoted Protestant, refusing to have anything to do with her. Privations and hardships soon undermined her health. I did all in my power to support her, even obtained a situation for her in a Catholic family, but being unaccustomed to hard work, and in very indifferent health, she had to take a room where she might remain undisturbed. Not having seen her for a long time I became alarmed, and went to call, but found her in the greatest possible straits, all her wearing apparel being in pawn, and her own sister having nothing but words of reproach for her, saying that if she died of starvation she would only have to blame herself. I redeemed the whole of her wardrobe, at the expense of over twenty scudi (£4), and retaining the more valuable articles, of which she had no need, gave her the rest, together with some ready money. One day, while in sore distress, she fell asleep, when Our Lady appeared to her, and bade her be patient, as she would have to suffer one year more, after which she would be rewarded for her faith. The effect of this vision was most edifying to behold, for from that moment she became quite cheerful, accounting her afflictions as mere trifles. A Catholic lady was kind enough to nurse her, and her sister consented at last to pay

her rent. I also visited her repeatedly, and assisted her with alms. Towards the end of the year her health entirely broke down, and two days before death her guardian angel appeared to her, whereupon she received the last sacraments, and died most happily.

I will conclude with a story in honour of Our Lady, in acknowledgment of much kindness received at the hands of our Fathers in Paris, who on several occasions gave me hospitality, and under whose direction I once made the spiritual exercises. Mother Frances Bedingfield, of whom I have spoken in connection with her school at Hammersmith, introduced me one day, when in Paris, to a lady boarder whom she wished me to accompany to London. On the way the lady told me the history of her conversion. While staying in Paris she entered, through curiosity, the Carmelite Church, though she could never surmount a certain instinctive repugnance to the devotion of Catholics towards saints, especially the Virgin. In this church she found a monument erected to the memory of Taddeo Barberini, there buried, with a magnificent marble statue of the Madonna with the Holy Child by the celebrated Cavaliere Bernini, a perfect masterpiece of sculpture. Ordered by Cardinal Antonio Barberini, the brother of the deceased, it was placed in the Lady Chapel.[1] At the sight of the Madonna, the

[1] See p. 183, note 1. A description of the statue, together with an account of the burial of Taddeo Barberini, will be found in *Annales des Carmes Déchaussés*, by Father Louis of St. Theresa, vol. i. p. 59. The statue was erected on 8th September 1663.

lady felt so overpowered that, do what she would, she could not but kneel down and pray to the Blessed Virgin. Nor was it in vain, for she then and there determined to become a Catholic, in order to enjoy the patronage of the Virgin and the saints. Her husband, an extremely rich man and a member of Parliament, was very angry at her conversion, and sent her no further allowance. She refused to return to England, preferring poverty to a compromise in matters of conscience. At the death of her husband she came into a large fortune, according to the marriage settlement, her son, the heir, paying her dower of four thousand scudi a year. This devout lady, being of resolute mind, determined to make a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. I met her again in Paris after her return, and was presented by her with a rosary of olive-wood from the trees of Gethsemane.

CHAPTER VII

MYSTERIOUS OCCURRENCES

The haunted house—A ghost story—Fortune-telling.

An eminent lawyer called on me one day and said that he had bought a property with a magnificent mansion, but, after going to considerable expense in furnishing it luxuriously, found it to be haunted.[1] There were such terrible noises at night, caused by infernal spirits, that he would be compelled to sell it again, being unable to live in it, unless I came and blessed the house. I asked him why he did not rather seek the blessing of a minister of his own Church, since he knew me to be a Catholic priest?

[1] This lawyer was Sir Thomas Raymond, born 1624, of Gray's Inn, barrister since 1650. At Michaelmas 1677 he was made a Serjeant-at-law, the motto engraved on the presentation-rings at that promotion being: "Gratia Regis, non operibus legis." On 1st May 1679 he became Baron of the Exchequer, was removed to the Common Pleas on 7th February 1679–80, and on 29th April of the same year he became a Justice of the King's Bench. In the latter Court he assisted in the trials and acquittals of Mr. Cellier and the Earl of Castlemaine, fortunately coming into office at the latter end of the pretended Plot, when the tide was beginning to turn. He died while on circuit, on 14th July 1683, and was buried in the parish church of Downham, Essex, as may be seen from a mural tablet on the north side of the belfry: "Here lyeth buried the body of Sir Thomas Raymond, Knt., one of the Justices of his Majesty's Courte of King's Bench, who married Anne, one of the daughters

His reply was that he placed more faith and confidence in us than in them, and that he was well disposed towards Catholics, though himself a Protestant. Thereupon I promised to come, and the day was fixed for him to send his carriage to take me to the haunted house, which was fifteen (Italian) miles from London. I carried with me a small box containing all the requisites for Mass, and had for a travelling companion a Catholic lady, the same who had given my address to the lawyer. We reached the place towards evening, and the owner, together with his wife and sister, showed me over the whole house, telling me of all the annoyance and fright caused to them and the domestics. The coachman and the postillion were the first to suffer from the horrible occurrences, and ever since then the family had confined themselves to one wing of the mansion. Asked where I should like to sleep, I chose the room most dreaded, as I was not afraid of the infernal spirits. "Then," said the host, "you must take my room, for a frightful noise takes place there.

of Sir Edward Fish, Bart., by whom he left one only child named Robert, and departed this life the fourteenth day of July Anno Domini 1683, in the 57th year of his age." His son, Robert, Lord Raymond, was Chief-Justice of the King's Bench in the time of George II., and acquired lasting renown. The haunted house was an estate called Tremnals, in the parish of Downham, with a manor-house of red brick in the Elizabethan style, of which parts still remain. Built by the Tyrrels, it was bought by Sir Thomas Raymond from the Throckmortons, and having belonged for some time to the Disbrowes, is now the property of a foreigner. See Foss, "Judges," vol. vii. p. 158, where there is also a curious description of the order observed at the creation of serjeants-at-law (p. 32).

I have suffered enough from it." It was a large room with a huge bed, richly hung with silk, separated by a long gallery from the quarter where the family lived. I took this room, said my night prayers, went to bed, and slept soundly until midnight, when I rose according to our custom to recite Matins and Lauds, and having made an hour's meditation, went to bed again, and was never disturbed by the least noise. The following morning I felt quite fresh, after such a good night's rest, and performed my ordinary devotions. When the master of the house came, accompanied by the Catholic lady, I was just preparing for Mass. They also had suffered no inconvenience whatever during the night. I put the altar-stone on the table and improvised an altar, the lady responding at Mass, because none of the three gentlemen present were Catholics. In this country we have extensive privileges with regard to all these things. Having blessed water and sprinkled with it all the assistants, I blessed the whole house with the usual ceremony. The day and the next night passed without disturbance. We had a drive in my host's carriage, and inspected everything noteworthy in the neighbourhood. The third day I said Mass as usual, and had a long conference with the Catholic lady, after which I drove back to London, leaving the gentleman greatly consoled and quite certain that there was nothing to fear in future, as, in fact, the event proved, for they have lived there ever since, free from any kind of disturbance.

It is worth mentioning that on the first evening, when we arrived, a most sweet fragrance could be

perceived in the mansion, which caused the lady to inquire of the hostess how she had been able to perfume the house so delightfully? She also had noticed it, but was unable to account for it. As for me I did not notice anything uncommon, although my sense of smell is rather keen, which leads me to think that it must have had a supernatural cause, Our Lord wishing to deliver the house from the power of demons in reward of the piety of its owners, who had recourse to the Catholic Church. This odour was only perceived on the first day.[1]

As I had reason to hope that the whole family might become Catholic, I sometimes went to see them when they were in town, and they invited me to dinner from time to time. The lawyer, being universally esteemed, expected to become one of His Majesty's Judges, and, in point of fact, he was nominated Serjeant-at-law, on which occasion he presented me with a gold ring, as is customary at such an event. Since my departure from England he has actually been raised to the dignity of Judge, and receives an income of a thousand pounds to insure an unbiassed administration of the law. Twice a year the judges go on circuit to the various provinces, to hear the more important cases. Had he become a Catholic he would never have attained this dignity, in which, however, he was able to do much good to Catholics. Would to God he had

[1] This incident will be mentioned again, with a different explanation, in the letter of Mother Catherine, chap. ix. p. 286. As to the supernatural fragrance, see Ribet, *La Mystique Divine*, vol. ii. p. 569; and as to celestial harmonies, of which we shall speak later on, ibid., p. 293.

been as anxious about the welfare of his soul as he was in seeking the prizes of this world.

On another occasion I was called upon to visit a poor Catholic woman supposed to be either possessed by the devil, or the victim of some diabolical fraud. I found her in bed, and much afflicted, but on examination could find no foundation for the report spread about her. I made her make a general confession, and gave her holy communion; after that I obliged her to get up, go to church, hear Mass, and look after her household, because her husband, a coachman and a Protestant, lost all his wages by staying at home to nurse her. She obeyed in every point, and was soon cured of her delusion.

Two Catholic ladies called on me and informed me that in the middle of the night they saw a huge thing enter their room, although the door was locked, and that they were almost beside themselves with fear. One lady was a widow, the other a spinster. The widow came very frequently, each time with a new story, as, for instance, that they had seen an enormous dog, and had heard loud knocking in a corner. She put in my hand a Latin document to the effect that the "thing" wished to speak to me privately. Taking a relative of this person with me, a penitent of mine and great servant of God, I went to the house and remained alone in the haunted room, first with the lamp lit, afterwards in perfect darkness. There was indeed some knocking apparently in a corner of the room. After an hour I went downstairs and sent the widow into the haunted room. When I went upstairs again I found

her quite frantic with terror, her husband, who had been dead for several years, having appeared to her enveloped with smoke, and intimated that he could not leave Purgatory until certain debts contracted during his lifetime were paid, namely, eight scudi in one case, two in another, and one in a third. The widow's uncle, himself a poor man, gave something towards these debts, to which I added two scudi. Some days later the widow came again and said that her husband had appeared once more, but this time in glory, as he was about to enter heaven, and he commissioned her to thank me for my kindness. Somehow I had some suspicion even now, and as soon as possible went to see the principal creditor, a tradesman, whom I found with difficulty. He told me that the widow had never paid one farthing, and, in fact, that at the death of her husband nothing was due to him. I called again at her house, and, by gradually questioning her, elicited a confession that she had been driven by great distress to obtain money by inventing this ghost story.

Passing one day through the streets of London, an advertisement was put in my hand to the effect that Madame X., living in such a street, in consequence of her deep researches and long experience, was enabled to predict future events, such as whether a sea journey should terminate safely, whether a lawsuit should be won or lost, whether lost articles should be recovered, and many more things of the same kind. Having some business in the neighbourhood, I thought I would go and see her. Finding her alone, I said: "Madam, I have

not come to consult you, much less to do you any harm. But I am anxious to know how you could have arrived at such marvellous proficiency; for I am a bit of a mathematician myself, but I am sure I should never be able to predict future events."

She gave herself airs, and extolled her thorough knowledge and long experience, whereupon I replied, "Madam, let me tell you that all the angels in heaven and all the devils in hell are unable to know the Future. God alone knows it, and therefore it is untrue that you can discover it by calculation." Seeing how serious I was, she acknowledged that in reality she knew no more than any one else; but, having nothing else to live upon, she had chosen this profession for her livelihood. She was not so fortunate as another person of the same profession whom I received into the Church, and who, abandoning her deceitful practices, underwent great infirmity and poverty with admirable patience, giving thereby clear signs of salvation. That person told me how she used to impose upon people. She answered the numerous questions put to her by conjecture, and if once correct in her guesses, her credit was firmly established in the whole country.

It should be noticed that cases of real diabolical possession are extremely rare in this country. In the course of nineteen years I have never come across a single one.

CHAPTER VIII

MISSIONARY EXPERIENCES

Some marriages—The state of the Catholic Church in England —Sir Edward Widdrington—Two juvenile converts—An apostate priest—A Protestant convent.

A GENTLEMAN, belonging to the middle classes, paid his addresses to a rich Protestant widow. Desirous of bringing her to the Catholic Church, I went several times to see her, and one day accepted an invitation to dinner. On arriving at her house, she told me that she herself had just accepted an invitation from her sister, the wife of a City merchant, and she pressed me to accompany her. There was a large company, my friend, the gentleman alluded to, being among the guests, as were also an Alderman, a Calvinist minister, author of a work against the Catholic Church, and several other Protestants. Dinner passed without incident, but, on leaving the table, every one seemed on the alert with regard to my attitude towards the clergyman. I felt it my duty to make a movement, and alluded to some subject of controversy, which led to an animated discussion, lasting more than an hour. I cannot say what impression it made on the rest of the company, but it certainly convinced

the widow herself of the truth of our Church, and she resolved to become a Catholic without delay. It seems that this dinner-party had been specially arranged to prevent her from conforming to the Catholic Church. The marriage was solemnised in due time, and for a while everything went on very well. But unfortunately the husband fell into the hands of an adventurer, who had already spent large sums of money in seeking the "Philosopher's stone," which is supposed to be capable of turning any metal into gold. They had already once gone to France for their experiments, and were on the point of going there again, of course at the expense of my friend. He confided his secrets to me, promising to build many monasteries, and establish charitable institutions, as soon as he had found the precious stone. Looking through his books, and examining his apparatus, I reminded him of the vast sums a certain English Duke had lost in pursuit of the same object, and thus, though with much difficulty, did I succeed in staying his folly. He recovered some of the money sunk in this undertaking, and acknowledged that, had he not stopped betimes, he would have been utterly ruined.

A Catholic lady, having allowed her daughter to be brought up in a Protestant house, the girl became imbued with Protestant notions. At the request of her mother, I went to see her in a large, elegantly furnished country villa. The hostess soon complained that I endeavoured to convert her chaplain, a young clergyman. On my advice,

the mother arranged a marriage between her daughter and a certain Catholic merchant, whom I approached on the subject. Ere long everything was settled, and the marriage took place, but for about a year the young lady would have nothing to do with Catholics, and resented any allusion to religious subjects. But shortly before the birth of her first child she embraced the Catholic faith, in which she still perseveres.

Returning once to England from Flanders, I was requested, by the Superioress of an English convent at Bruges, to escort the daughter of a rich Englishman to her native country. She had just finished her education, and was only waiting for an opportunity of joining her parents. On board ship, we enjoyed the company of a young gentleman returning from Rome, where he had studied philosophy at the English College. A terrific gale delayed us in the Channel, but eventually we reached England in perfect safety. The two young people being as nearly as possible equal in age, rank, and fortune, contracted so close a friendship that, in taking leave, the gentleman requested me to prepare the parents of the young lady for his suit. Not long after our return, the father went to see the gentleman's parents, then the mother went with the daughter, but after this there arose difficulties, so that from Christmas until Shrovetide nothing was settled. I did not consider it my duty to interfere, but when Shrove-Tuesday came, I went to the young man, and asked him why the marriage had not been arranged?

He said it was through no fault of his, since he wished it to take place as soon as possible. I then went to the parents of the lady, with a like question, and received a like answer. As we were about to begin Lent, during which marriages may not be solemnised, I returned to the gentleman, and requested him to come with me. When we arrived at the house of the lady, I said: "This gentleman tells me that it is not his fault that the marriage has not taken place; the lady says it is not hers; and I declare that it will not be mine. Arrange between yourselves, while I am going to call in a friend to act as best man, and when I come back, I shall unite you in holy matrimony." This was done; I went to my friend, while they drew up the settlement, as previously agreed upon, and, on my return, the wedding was solemnised in due form, and we spent the evening in mirth and joy. The match proved a very happy one, the families on both sides being well pleased.

These are the most noteworthy things that happened to me during my missionary life, as far as I can recollect. As to the number of persons received into the Church, I can only say that during the first ten or eleven years there are one hundred and twenty-four names on my register, but the revival of the persecution prevented me from continuing my notes, so that I can only estimate the total number at about two hundred and fifty. As to Baptisms, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, I never kept any register at all, though I did not shrink

from fatigue, or even long journeys, when the welfare of souls was at stake.

The position of Catholic priests in England is vastly different from that of missioners in other countries, for example in Holland, where our Fathers have public chapels, and are considered more or less as parish priests. Here no priest may exercise his functions publicly, except the chaplains of the Queen and the Catholic Ambassadors. When, therefore, one of our Fathers, Father Patrick of St. Bridget,[1] opened a public chapel on his own authority, the Protestant Bishop of London sent one of his secretaries to give him due warning, and, this proving useless, had him arrested and imprisoned by order of the Privy Council. The officials seized him while he was wearing the religious habit, and thus led him before the Court. But, on a supplication being presented by me to the Queen Mother, he was expelled the kingdom and went to Flanders.

Our missioners are generally chaplains to the Ambassadors, and thus, under the protection of the law, they are enabled to say Mass and hear confessions in chapels practically public. They receive a small pension, enabling them to live respectably. Others take up their residence in the homes of the Catholic gentry, where they celebrate Mass privately, or rather in secret. They take their meals with the family, and are considered more like guests than chaplains. Others again live in furnished apartments, where they also receive the visits of their

[1] See Part I. chap. viii. p. 122.

penitents, and where they say Mass, unless they do so in the houses of the Catholic nobility. On Sundays and feasts they frequently say Mass twice, that all Catholics may fulfil their obligation, there being many who do not wish to be seen at the chapels of the foreign embassies. It is easy enough to erect a portable altar: a consecrated stone is placed on a table with the altar-cloths, crucifix, and candlesticks; after Mass everything is removed, so as to evade the vigilance of spies. The sacraments of Baptism, Extreme Unction, and Matrimony are also administered secretly, for Catholics may on no account go to a Protestant Church. Even burials are performed according to the Catholic ritual, the funeral ceremonies taking place in the house of the deceased, and consecrated earth being put in the coffin; the cemeteries, being mostly attached to Protestant churches, serve for Catholics and Protestants alike, since they are ancient burial-places, and therefore really consecrated ground.

Such is the usual practice throughout England and Scotland. The majority of Catholics live in London, but in point of fact there are few towns without at least some Catholic inhabitants. Many noble families have steadfastly persevered in the exercise of the Catholic religion, notwithstanding an almost incessant persecution, which has ruined more than one fortune. Numbers have embraced the Faith, partly through the exertions of the missioners, partly by travelling on the Continent. In Scotland there are not so many Catholics as in England, yet some of the most influential families

have ever persevered in the Faith, affording protection to their poorer co-religionists.

The number of labourers in the vineyard of the Lord is very great, and theirs is a twofold duty, namely, the pastoral work among Catholics, and the conversion of Protestants. The Benedictines, who are numerous, are very good missioners, the Jesuits enjoy the highest prestige; the number of Dominicans, hitherto small, has been increased by the influence and resources of their Cardinal (Howard). The Franciscan Recollects have also many good subjects. These are the only Religious Orders represented in England besides ourselves, who are fewest in number, owing to our having no English establishment on the Continent. There are, moreover, secular priests who have a large College at Douay, to which the Pope contributes two thousand scudi a year. Many English are studying humanities, philosophy, and theology there, previous to being sent on the mission. These receive faculties from the Cardinal Protector of England, whereas Regulars receive them direct from their own Superiors.

For several years I said Mass in the house of one of the principal Catholic ladies, whose entire household was Catholic. She was a great servant of God, having established her whole house on strict religious principles. Like some of the people mentioned in the course of this narrative, she liberally provided me with funds. Another elderly lady, who for years had lived in Rome, Naples, and other towns of Italy, and had been at the Courts of two Empresses, and spoke several languages, was among the number of

my penitents, and approached the sacraments very frequently. She bought fine linen, which she herself worked for altar-cloths, and being also solicitous for my bodily welfare, instructed my housekeeper in the art of cooking, supplying her with sugar and spices when required. When I was travelling she had Masses said for my safe return, and, generally speaking, supported me in every way. At her death she left a hundred ducats for Requiem Masses.

During the first year of my missionary life I made the acquaintance of a Catholic baronet, Sir Edward Widdrington,[1] of a noble and ancient family, who during the Civil War had raised two regiments, one of cavalry, the other of infantry, for the service of the King, he himself commanding two thousand cavalry. Owing to the enormous expense, his fortune was reduced to four or five thousand scudi a year. He was a most pious man, and as long as he lived in London I said Mass at his house, and he went to confession and communion twice a week. Consi-

[1] Sir Edward Widdrington, of Cartington, Northumberland, a baronet of Nova Scotia, obtained an English baronetcy on 8th August 1642. He was born in or about 1614, and was son of Roger Widdrington, of Cartington, by Mary, daughter of Sir Francis Radclyffe, of Derwentwater, Bart. Sir Edward married a Charlton, of Hesleyside, Northumberland, and probably had more children than are mentioned by Burke in his "Extinct Baronetcies." The son, stated by Father Bede to have been about nineteen years of age at the death of Sir Edward, must have died soon afterwards, for the baronetcy became extinct. There were two Widdringtons, students at the English Benedictine College at Douay, Edward and Henry, and Sir Edward's son was probably one of them. In June 1664 Sir Edward signed a deed at Cartington Hall. In 1688 the Hall was the residence of Sir Nicholas Sherbourne, of Stonyhurst, who married Sir Edward's granddaughter.

dering that his services to the late King received no proper reward at the Restoration, on account of his religion, and being tired of the illusions of life, he determined to put the management of his estates into the hands of his wife, a lady equally renowned for prudence and virtue, and to seek rest and quiet abroad. He went secretly to Flanders, accompanied by a single servant, and settled at Bruges, a large and wealthy town, where he devoted himself exclusively to the service of God. Thence he set out on a pilgrimage to Rome, where he was kindly received by the Pope; but soon returned, always travelling on foot, in the company of his faithful servant. Shortly afterwards I met him at Bruges, but by this time he had dismissed his servant, spending as much money as he used to pay in wages (thirty soldi a day) for the celebration of Masses. He also deprived himself of the luxury of chocolate, which he formerly used to have for breakfast, and gave instead every day fifty soldi to the poor. He was so shabbily dressed, and having dispensed with shaving, looked so untidy that he seemed a poor man himself. Even in the coldest winter he went without fire; twice or thrice a week he fasted on bread and water, or bread and beer, but even on other days he lived very poorly. Early in the morning he went to church, as a rule that of the Capuchins, and remained serving or hearing every Mass until the last was said. He then returned to his lodgings until Vesper time, when he again went to church, especially if there happened to be a solemn function anywhere. By these holy exercises, no less than by

the fervour of his devotion, he became a source of edification to the whole town, and this lasted for five or six years, in the course of which I several times passed through Bruges. On these occasions he showed me as much honour as if I was his own father, and asked my advice about all his interests, both spiritual and temporal. On one occasion I told him that he was in conscience bound to go to England, to settle certain important matters. He obeyed without delay, not even waiting to shave his beard or change his dress. No sooner were his affairs settled than he returned and resumed his wonted manner of life, spending all his time in prayer and mortification. After some years of such a life of penance he fell ill, and sent for his wife, who at once repaired to Flanders, accompanied by a married daughter. Although entirely unaware of his illness, I happened to go to Flanders about the same time, and went straight to Bruges to pay him a visit. He was hardly able to speak, but could only say, "I know now that I am going to die, as God has sent me my ghostly Father." After midnight his sufferings became less severe, so that he was able to converse with me for some time. It was his wish that I should stay with him till death, and see him consigned to his last resting-place, and afterwards proceed to Douay, where his son, nineteen years old, was studying, for whom he gave me certain commissions. The next day he sent for the Guardian of the Capuchins, to whom he left two hundred ducats for Masses, and also for a tomb beneath the porch, so that he might be trampled upon by

all those who went to or came from the church. This being arranged, he joyfully exclaimed, "Now let death come when it pleases," and some three hours later he calmly rendered his soul to its Creator.

This was on a Saturday evening, and the following morning some of the preachers informed their congregations that the English lord was dead, who by his holy life had edified them for so many years. As the news spread, there was such a concourse of people to see and venerate his remains, that it was hardly possible to make one's way through the crowd.

The burial over, I went to Antwerp to meet an Englishman whom I had to introduce to the Prior of our novitiate at Namur. We travelled together to Liège, where we found the Provincial, by whose permission we proceeded to Namur. As soon as my young companion[1] was clothed, I went to the holy "Desert" at Marlagne[2] to make my yearly retreat. One night, returning after Matins to my cell and lying down to sleep, it seemed to me as though I was walking through a large room, in which I beheld the late baronet (Sir Edward Widdrington) sitting up in his bed. I do not know how I was able to recognise him so soon, for he appeared much taller than in life, and his countenance was by far the most beautiful I had ever seen. His expression was cheerful, his eyes radiant, and yet it seemed to me that he was suffering somewhat, for he could not move his neck or turn his head. We looked at each other for a while, and then, as I was

[1] Father Constantine. See pp. 235 and 313.
[2] See Part I. chap. v.

passing towards the door, he suddenly jumped from his bed and knelt down, as was his custom when I visited him at Bruges, saying: "Pray, Father, give me your blessing before you go." I made the sign of the cross over him, and went to the door, when I woke up. Thinking that perhaps he was as yet in need of prayers, I rose and said the Office of the Dead. I can remember this dream as distinctly as if it had only happened last night. I found his son at Douay and delivered the message to him, and he showed himself quite willing to conform to the last request of his father.

An English lady of high rank married a French merchant who was a Catholic. For many years she remained most obstinate in her Protestantism, but at last, after many vain endeavours, I succeeded in convincing her of the truth of the Catholic faith, which she generously embraced. She requested me to see one of her daughters, who had been separated from her husband on account of his extravagance, which led him to squander a very large income. This lady and her three children were so many angels in human form. She possessed good judgment, and, being well educated, took a delight in reading poetry and other works of renowned authors. After my first visits, the eldest daughter, a girl about thirteen or fourteen years old, expressed a desire to become a Catholic, and, although the mother would not take the decisive step herself, she gave her daughter leave to do so. She used to come to me for instruction, and despite her natural shyness, eagerly informed herself about religious matters.

Having met a companion in the person of the daughter of a Protestant minister, then living with a Catholic relative, a sincere friendship sprung up between the two girls, who were received into the Church together. Both died very soon after, being "taken away lest wickedness should alter their understanding," for they were both perfectly innocent. The clergyman's daughter was taken ill in consequence of having eaten turkey, her whole body becoming corrupted, so that people were frightened even to nurse her. Yet the devotion with which she received the last rites of the Church, and made the sign of the Cross or took Holy Water, was most edifying to behold. The nurse herself was led thereby to become a Catholic. It was affirmed that her Guardian Angel appeared to the patient before her death.

The other girl went into consumption through excess of fervour. Notwithstanding the distance from her home, she frequently came to the Spanish Embassy, where I was stationed at the time. Having received Extreme Unction, she took leave of all that were present, and, with a smile on her lips, rendered her innocent soul to its Maker. Having recited the Prayers for the Dead and performed the funeral ceremonies in the manner described above, I went to the mother, who was weeping bitterly. Her first words were: "The only thing that remains for me to do, sir, is to become a Catholic myself." This she did, the pious life and holy death of her daughter having proved more efficacious than all my arguments. Within

a short time I also received her other children into the Church.

I must not omit to relate the following incident in honour of the Blessed Sacrament, though I was not personally concerned in it. One day a man came and introduced his wife to me, with the request that I should instruct her in the Catholic faith. In answer to my question how he came to be a Catholic himself, he told me the following story:—

Eighteen or twenty Protestant ministers had a meeting somewhere in the country for the despatch of certain business. Fifteen of them were attended by their footmen, my friend being one of these. Business over, the company adjourned to an inn, where dinner was prepared. As their spirits rose, they began to taunt one clergyman, who was an apostate priest: "Now let us see," they said, "what Papists do at the consecration." He called for a slice of bread, and, after various ceremonies, came to the words of Consecration, which he pronounced over the bread, just as he used to do at Mass, previous to his apostasy. No sooner had he finished, than one of the ministers contemptuously snatched the consecrated bread out of his hand and flung it to a large bull-dog in a corner of the room. The dog rose at once to seize upon it, but, coming close to it, suddenly stopped, crouched down with its head on the floor, not daring, as it were, to touch the bread. At this sight the apostate was seized with compunction; he knelt down in front of the

consecrated bread, carefully gathered all the crumbs, consumed them, and then addressed the clergymen: "Gentlemen," he said, "I am guilty of a dreadful sacrilege, but now I will go at once and do penance for my sin." With these words he left the inn, to the utmost confusion of the whole party, crossed the sea, and sought abroad reconciliation with the Catholic Church. Thirteen out of the fifteen footmen who had witnessed the scene were converted: but, unfortunately, I never carried out my intention of making more minute inquiries about this occurrence, though I have not the least reason to doubt the accuracy and veracity of my informant, whose words I have repeated as nearly as possible.

Let me conclude my narrative by saying that the Protestants in England have neither monks nor nuns of their creed, and what efforts they have made in this direction have proved unsuccessful. In my time there were about twelve Protestant ladies of gentle birth and considerable means who had an idea of founding a convent in London. Submitting their plan to the then Dean of St. Paul's, now Archbishop of Canterbury,[1] they secured his approbation,

[1] William Sancroft, elected Dean of St. Paul's on 11th November 1664, secured lasting renown by the part he took in the rebuilding of the Cathedral after the fire. He was promoted to the Primacy in 1677. His subsequent history and tragic end need not be repeated here. Personally he was a gentle, meditative, and retiring man, and would probably have been an excellent director for the projected sisterhood. In spite of diligent research, no trace of the latter could be discovered either in Sancroft's papers or in the archives of the English Benedictine abbeys in Flanders and their representatives in England.

as well as his services, as their director and ghostly father. One of the ladies, distinguished by prudence and mature qualities, notwithstanding her youth, and possessing an income of fifteen hundred scudi (£300), was unanimously elected Abbess, and went to Flanders to study the Rule of St. Benedict and the obligations of her exalted office in one of the English Benedictine abbeys. During her absence, another of the ladies left the convent and married, to the utter disgust of the rest of the community. A little later another died, and finally the Lady Abbess herself became intimate with a Catholic gentleman, who introduced her to me. Having made many inquiries about Catholic doctrine, she was finally received into the Catholic Church, and shortly afterwards I united her in holy matrimony to that gentleman. All this caused so much confusion in the convent that the remaining ladies abandoned their project, which was probably the wisest course they could have adopted, for it is certain that, in the event of their perseverance, they would have been overwhelmed with difficulties, affronts, and insults at the hands of the London rabble, and would never have been successful in their enterprise.

I could relate many interesting things concerning a priest called Thomas Blackloe,[1] who was too daring

[1] Thomas White, better known by his assumed name Blackloe, was considered one of the most subtle philosophers of his day, but he unnecessarily offended his Catholic fellow-countrymen by too bold assertions. He died at the age of ninety-four, on the 6th July 1676, in Drury Lane.

in his writings on the subject of St. Theresa, for which he was censured. I had many disputes with him, but having already written more than I intended, it only remains for me to conclude my memoir with a heartfelt

"LAUS DEO."

CHAPTER IX

IN ITALY AGAIN
(1679–1686)

The Oates Plot—Father Bede and the nuns of Conegliano.

Father Bede's work on the English mission came to a sudden end in August 1678. The Chronicle of the mission contains the following entry: "In the year 1678 a most grievous persecution against Catholics broke out under the pretext of a plot supposed to be planned by them against the life of the King, in order to hasten the accession of the Duke of York, with the object of setting aside the Church of England in favour of the Catholic Church. These and other horrible charges originated with Titus Oates, an apostate from the Catholic faith, a man of criminal life, and by others of the same class, most of them having been bribed. In consequence the missioners were dispersed through the country, Catholic priests having nothing to look forward to but prison, chains, and even the gallows. Father Bede being then Vicar-Provincial, was obliged to fly to Flanders, in order to escape captivity or even worse, for he was nominally denounced by Oates, as were also Father Anselm and Francis of the Child Jesus, great diligence being used to bring about the

apprehension of Father Bede, as a party to the alleged treason. However, he arrived safely in Flanders under an assumed name, and in disguise. Fathers Francis and John-Joseph left England about the same time. In the meantime none of our fathers durst show himself in London, with the exception of Father Lucian, who had but lately arrived, and was as yet unknown to the informers. It being necessary to send young fathers hither whose presence could excite no suspicion, the Father-General was not long in making the requisite arrangements."

The manner in which the Carmelites, especially Father Bede, became involved in the Plot is thus stated in the written and sworn deposition at the Public Record Office: Oates declared that on 18th August 1678 he was commissioned by the Jesuits to interview the Provincials of the Dominicans and Carmelites in order to open negotiations. He first saw the Dominicans, who declared that they heartily agreed with everything, but possessing only a few hundred pounds, regretted to be unable to co-operate substantially. Thereupon "he met Dr. Hansom (Father Anselm), Mr. Kimball (Father Francis), and Mr. Trevers (Father Bede), and they said that they had not one penny in stock, nor any income besides what the Spanish Ambassador allowed them for assisting in his Chapel. They by the deponent did present their services to the fathers of the Society of Jesus met together, and bade the deponent tell them that their prayers to God and Our Blessed Lady should not be wanting."

Leaving England, Father Bede went first to Flan-

ders, where he remained for more than a year, until the General Chapter, held in May 1680, at Bologna, at which he assisted, probably as representative of the English Carmelites. He then was affiliated to the Province of Venice, until such time as it would be safe for him to return to his beloved mission. There is a long letter extant, which will give us some insight into his life and work in Italy. It was written on 19th November 1701, by Mother Catherine of Christ, Prioress of the Carmelite convent of Conegliano, near Venice, at the command of the Superiors of the Order, who were contemplating the publication of Father Bede's life, and were collecting all the papers which are now deposited in the archives of the monastery in Kensington. Father Bede was deeply interested in the convent at Conegliano since its foundation in 1682, partly as confessor of the nuns, partly as adviser of the Rev. Mother, and to his experience and self-denying devotedness must be ascribed the success of this foundation, despite many difficulties. The following is the translation, in substance, of Mother Catherine's personal recollections :—

Though by birth a Protestant, and involved in the affairs of this world, Father Bede received the grace of being led to the Catholic faith. Perusing the Annals of the Church, he observed that by right England should be in union with the Holy See, instead of which he noticed the momentous change that had taken place, and desired to obtain further light on so important a subject. With the consent of his father he came to Italy, and what he saw and

heard in Rome confirmed his impressions, until at length he embraced the faith. His father was much opposed to this step, and declined to contribute to his support, or even to acknowledge him as his son. Having entered the English College, and feeling drawn to the religious life, he wavered for some time between the Society of Jesus and our Order, but ultimately chose the latter.

Possessing the virtue of faith in a marvellous degree, the more incomprehensible and sublime a mystery was, the more eagerly did he embrace it, as, for instance, that of the Blessed Trinity, with the glory of which he seemed to be quite penetrated. He wrote some beautiful acts of Adoration, Offering, and Thanksgiving, in honour of each of the Three Divine Persons, which he not only frequently repeated himself, but also taught to others. In fact, he seemed to be no longer dwelling on this earth, but already a citizen of heaven. He spoke with extraordinary devotion of the Holy Ghost, Whose divine mission filled his pious soul with sweetness; he exhorted us to have recourse to Him in all our needs as the true Consoler of souls. At his request Father Vincent Ferrer, then Provincial, wrote a magnificent book on the hymn, *Veni Creator Spiritus*, entitled "The Mystical Temple," but Father Bede, far from being satisfied, asked for a more extensive work on the Personality of the Holy Ghost, which the Provincial promised to write.[1]

[1] *Templum Mysticum Spiritus Sancti, seu Expositio in Hymnum Veni Creator Spiritus.* Vicenza, 1683, in 12mo. The larger work has not been published. The author died at Pavia on 10th June 1720, aged seventy.

He also told me that one day, when alone in the monastery at Vicenza (all the fathers having gone out for a walk), it occurred to him that he might translate into English the "Visions of Souls in Purgatory," by the Ven. Mother Frances of the Blessed Sacrament,[1] English Catholics having but a superficial knowledge of Purgatory. At that moment the Holy Ghost appeared to him in the shape of a beautiful dove, at the sight of which he felt an interior emotion as though he were plunged in a sea of love. It disappeared as suddenly as it had come, so that he could not follow it with his eyes, but his soul remained for a long time filled with a holy gladness. He at once set to work, and, as I believe, was able to complete the translation.

When at Treviso he was nominated confessor, and being ever anxious to comply with the least wishes of his Superiors, readily undertook the work assigned to him. But he confided to me that two kinds of people caused him great anxiety, namely, those who made use of so little discretion in their confessions that one could hardly believe that they were sorry for their sins; and those who were so ignorant of the principles of the Catholic faith, that to questions

[1] Born in 1561, she became a Carmelite nun at Pampelona on 11th November 1584, and died on 27th November 1629. Her book, entitled "The Experiences of the Dead in the Light of the Living," was published in Spanish, with notes, by Bishop John de Palafox, and a biographical notice on the author by Michael de Lanuza. Madrid, 1654, in 4to. "As to the book on apparitions of the departed," says Father Vincent Ferrer in a letter, "concerning which Mother Catherine is doubtful whether Father Bede translated it into English, I am able to state that he did so; he also intended translating mine on the *Veni Creator*."

on the most elementary articles they gave the most foolish answers. This experience led him to write a little treatise in form of a catechism upon the things Christians are bound to know, which was printed and distributed in all the parishes of the town. The bishop, seeing the wonderful effect of that small work, personally thanked Father Bede for the good he was doing, and conversed with him for a long time on the urgent needs of the people.

As strong as Father Bede's Faith was his Hope; he was never despondent, even under the most trying circumstances, but put his confidence in Him who can do all things. He would never tolerate the slightest diffidence in our nuns, being of opinion that since God was so good, and such a lover of souls, His faithful Spouses should never mistrust His Love; and while severely blaming faint-heartedness, he encouraged us greatly in the exercise of generosity. Hearing of the projected foundation of a convent at Padua, he was overjoyed, and exhorted me to hasten the preparations, and pay no attention to the opposition that was sure to arise, since it was a foregone conclusion that the devil would do everything in his power to frustrate our design. He even succeeded in getting the Queen of England to write personally to Cardinal Howard on the subject, as Father Honorius, the then General, will remember.[1]

On being permitted to return to England, he set out without delay, although that journey, long and perilous at all times, was rendered even more painful on account of his advanced age (sixty-seven) and

[1] In spite of all this, the foundation did not take place.

his infirmities. He wrote a letter of farewell to "his beloved and much esteemed Mother Prioress, whom he expected only to meet in heaven, when they would sing together the praises of the Blessed Trinity." He set out in true apostolic spirit, without money, without provisions, but with firm hope, which, as his letters proved, was never deceived.

The Love of God had taken such complete possession of him that he seemed perpetually rapt in ecstasy, like an angel in human form, or a seraph burning with the Love of God. He disliked all conversation not bearing on those things which he had at heart, viz. prayer, the practice of virtue, and the obligations of the Religious life; and not only was he most fervent in the accomplishment of all these duties, but he also knew how to communicate his zeal to others. He even seemed to have an instinctive knowledge of our imperfections, however small. His preparation for Mass was long and careful. At the Gospel, his emotion frequently was so great, that he burst into tears; many times he was obliged to pause, and often finished Mass with difficulty. One day he told me that at the beginning Our Lord used to give him great consolations in prayer, but knowing himself to be unworthy of such favours, he entreated Him to withdraw them. He humbly asked my opinion whether he had acted rightly in this matter; so deeply was he penetrated with the sense of the Majesty of God, that his confessor pronounced it a supernatural gift.

From his Love of God arose the Love of his neighbour, and it was painful to see him suffer at

the thought of the innumerable offences committed against God, although, on the other hand, the knowledge of many faithful souls was graven on his memory, and afforded him much consolation. I believe God was well pleased with these dispositions, and in return gladdened his soul with a kind of celestial music, which he enjoyed almost continually,[1] as he himself told me, and which greatly increased his love of God. Ere his return to England, he said to me: "O Mother, what a wonderful thing heaven is, and yet how many poor creatures know nothing of it, but are only too ready to lose it." Shortly before the outbreak of that fierce persecution against Catholics in England (1688), he wrote to me that before dawn he used to hear, as it were, the sound of large gongs far away, dreary and doleful, which frightened him, not knowing what it meant until the dreadful event happened, and the houses and property of Catholics were destroyed. Again, I remember his telling me that he had numerous friends and spiritual children in England, to whom he secretly administered the sacraments. In one house a dreadful noise was heard, as though the whole house was being thrown

[1] "In his letter on the journey to Cologne" (which will be inserted in the next chapter), "Father Bede speaks of some celestial music which seemed to accompany him wherever he went. When consulting me at Vicenza on the state of his soul, he spoke of some sweet angelic melody which his innocent soul experienced almost continually. In Mother Catherine's letter, allusion is made to horrible sounds he heard outside of London, shortly before the outbreak of persecution. This fearful noise, resembling a distant gong, was repeated every day for a long time at a certain hour." —*Letter of Father Vincent Ferrer*, quoted above.

down; this happened only at night-time, and chiefly in one room; the family were so terrified that they would not live there any longer, but the good father volunteered to go and bless the house. Some persons, who accompanied him thither, perceived a delicious fragrance, so powerful that they could not but inquire about its origin; the only one who noticed nothing was Father Bede himself, but I hold it for certain that it was a sign of the sanctity of him who could cast out evil spirits. He slept in the very room which had become uninhabitable on account of the diabolical manifestations, and not only did that night pass without disturbance, but the noises ceased altogether.

When Father Bruno of Jesus, the Provincial, appointed him our confessor, we did not even know him. The Prior of Treviso introduced him, and we noticed that he had already attained a certain age, and that he seemed very kind-hearted. But when the Prior mentioned that he was a convert from Protestantism, one of the sisters, as she told me afterwards, felt some repugnance lest he might still have some Protestant ideas, and thereby endanger our Faith. Father Bede, in whom we frequently noticed the gift of prophecy, turned to the Prior, saying, "By telling them that I am a convert, you have spoiled the pleasure that sister there had experienced at my nomination." We had a feast in honour of our new confessor, for at the beginning the Provincial told me that he would have to appoint a secular priest to that office, or at least a Religious of some other Order, on account of the distance between this place

and the nearest monastery. I complained, and said, "Father, I should be sorry to offend you, but I tell you frankly that I will go to confession to no outsider, should I even be unable to go more than once a year, for surely you will see your way to give us at least one of our own fathers for our Easter duties. We are faithful members of the Order, and should not be thus abandoned." But, to return to the temptation of that sister, the bell soon rang for the evening meditation, during which Our Lord said to me that He would dispel all her fears in an instant, by showing her the beauty of the soul of that saintly priest in all its perfection, it being His own wholly and undivided, and that He had chosen it, like a magnificent rose from amongst thorns. This afforded me more consolation than I can say, and I was truly grateful for having such a man for our confessor. I ever treated him with all the respect due to his sanctity, as did the other nuns; but I fear I have not profited so much by his advice as they did. The same nun told me also that, shortly before his return to England, Our Lord showed her in prayer His soul, like a temple of surpassing beauty, and resplendent beyond description, it being filled with the three Divine Persons, but more than all with the Holy Ghost, who entirely governed it. For Christ has said that "If any man love Me, he will keep My word, and My Father will love him; and we will come to him, and will make our abode with Him."

During the three years he was our confessor (1682–85), he came twice or three times a month from Treviso, a distance of fifteen (Italian) miles, a

very trying journey, owing to the cold wind in winter, and the scorching heat in summer, and also because, in crossing the river called La Piane, he had often to wait a long time for the ferryman. He always travelled on foot, there being no conveyance to be had; yet in spite of his age and the ulcers in his leg, he was ever cheerful, saying that when he came to hear our confessions he felt strong enough to run, just as if he had wings to his feet, to the distress of his companion, who, though much younger and stronger, was quite unable to keep pace with him. He pretended to feel no pain, which, he said, must be the effect of our prayers, and a sure sign how pleased Almighty God was in seeing him serving the Spouses of Christ. But his consolation could never have equalled ours. On arriving at the convent, he would never go to the guest-room, but immediately rang the bell at the turn. "Blessed be Jesus Christ," he then said, "and how is the Rev. Mother?" "Quite well, Father," was the answer of the porteress; "she is able to come to all the exercises of the community." "May God be praised; but, for the love of Our Lord, take care of her. Are all the sisters well?" Asked how he felt himself, he always said he was exceedingly well, not in the least tired, and that the wind or rain or sun just suited him.

He believed he could satisfy his ardent devotion to St. Theresa in no better way than by devoting himself to the service of her spiritual daughters, and he frequently represented to us the goodness of God in having called us to her Order. For this reason

he laid great stress on perfect observance of the Rule, especially on the practice of holy obedience, even in small things. "If you do this," he said, "you are true children of our holy Mother, but not otherwise;" and these admonitions were all the more telling, as he himself gave a grand example of religious perfection. The consequence was, that the most perfect peace reigned in this house, the utmost regularity going hand in hand with true charity. Notwithstanding his great kindness in advising me on the affairs of the house, as well as on the interests of my soul, he used to say, "Now, Mother Prioress, you must make room for the sisters." He thought of each of us, and studied the spirit of each, demanding an account of our prayer, and giving us light to recognise our faults, and strength to mortify our passions, and thereby to prepare the way for solid virtue, self-knowledge, and union with God. He recommended solitude and silence as an obligation of our Rule, and a necessary preparation for prayer, and rejoiced that our convent was so isolated, far from all traffic and the visits of seculars, which would only have caused distraction and annoyance. When he noticed any of the sisters busying herself overmuch with active work, he rebuked her, and told her to apply herself more to the interior life to which she was called, and he sometimes gave me a hint to mortify such a sister, by giving her some other occupation.

He endeared himself to us especially by the earnestness, truthfulness, and sincerity of his words, which showed him to be entirely devoid of human

respect, yet full of prudence and discretion, like a real saint from heaven. He was equally solicitous for the welfare of the strong and the delicate, and as I was somewhat ailing, he always kept a watchful eye on me, and recommended me to the care of the Mother Subprioress, the Infirmarian, and, in fact, all, even the externs, that I might be provided with everything needful. He represented to me that my age and infirmities, as well as the affairs of the convent and my duties as Prioress and Mistress of Novices, rendered some care necessary, and that it was his duty to see that I was properly looked after, as otherwise he should have to give an account to God for the consequences of his negligence. Notwithstanding my scruples at submitting to exaggerated solicitude about my health and strength, he advised me to consider my reluctance as a temptation, and to be obedient to what he took to be the Will of God, as I should have at least the merit of submission, whereas my repugnance gave him dissatisfaction.

His charity did not prevent him from administering correction where necessary. To one sister he said, in a spirit of prophecy: "Tell me, Sister, did you not do such and such a thing?" She had never told any one about it, so that he must have known it by revelation. To another he discovered many unknown things, which greatly surprised her, and he gave her excellent advice, so that she had every reason to be grateful to him.

His humility was as profound as his charity was tender; it was even written on his face, and he

reminded me of St. Francis, esteeming every one higher than himself. He used to say that he was a great sinner, but as he seemed rather a saint, I asked him once what terrible sins he could have committed? He confessed that when a youth he sometimes was so indiscreet in the use of wine that it went to his head. He also thought that he had always been made too much of, and never ought to have been elected Master of Novices, or put in charge of souls so highly advanced as those he had under his direction in England. Though frequently consulted on spiritual matters, even by learned theologians, he would ever seek advice in his own affairs; for as a truly apostolic man he was poor in spirit, and only sought the glory of God. When travelling, he never provided for himself, neither would he ask for anything, but confided entirely in Divine Providence. If money was given him, he would not even touch it, but begged his companion to take charge of it, and spend it according to his own discretion. One day I had to send a certain amount to the Prior of Treviso, but he requested me to wrap it up in paper, as he had touched no money for many years. Likewise he kept secret the letter appointing him Superior of the English Mission, lest he should be put in a place of honour in the refectory, a distinction from which he shrank almost instinctively. One day a Franciscan Father called at this convent, who, having known Father Bede in England, spoke highly of his family, as well as of the position he held in London. Learning that I had found out his family name, Father Bede was much

concerned, but before I had time to question him he left the room.

Previous to his final departure from England (1692), he wrote to me that matters had reached such a pitch that he could do no more good, nor even appear in public, so that it only remained for him to retire to some monastery and prepare for death, but, in view of his advanced age and infirmities, he feared to be a burden to the community. Nevertheless it became evident that he did the right thing, for he wrote from Paris in his usual cheerful way that, by permission of the General, he had retired to that monastery with, I forget whether it was one or two, young Englishmen, and that he received the habit on the same day as they did.[1] When they began their novitiate, he took leave of me as far as further correspondence was concerned, only asking me to remember him in my prayers, and promising the same to me. He sent me, however, kind messages through Father-General, who added that Father Bede gave the greatest edification to the whole community, by his fidelity in the observance of our Rule. After his death, one of the sisters told me that, having recommended herself to him in some spiritual need, she at once experienced the effect of his intercession. May it please God that we all may one day enjoy his company in a blessed Eternity. Amen.

[1] Unable to wear the habit in England, he did not wear it in Paris either, until the solemn clothing of the two novices.

CHAPTER X

THE LAST YEARS
(1686–1696)

Journey to London—The Carmelite monastery at Bucklersbury —Hammersmith—The Orange Revolution—Letters—In Paris—Death.

WHILE Father Bede was devoting himself to the welfare of the people of Treviso and the nuns of Conegliano, a great change took place in the position of Catholics in England. The accession of James II. marked the triumph of the Catholic cause, and, among others, the Carmelites hoped to reap the reward of their faithful labours. Consequently they petitioned the Chapter-General which met in the spring of 1686, to send some more fathers to England, especially Father Bede, whose long experience and high repute would prove invaluable at so eventful a moment. No sooner had the latter received the order from the General to return to London, together with his nomination as Vicar-Provincial (for the third time), than he informed the Rev. Mother of Conegliano thereof, although he was no longer her confessor.

"May the grace of God," he writes on 30th June 1686, "enlighten your heart and soul. I must

not delay informing you of what has happened, both on account of the great respect I have for you, and in order to obtain the help of your prayers. Father-General has sent me a patent for the English Mission, assigning as my travelling companion Father Augustine, Subprior of Ancona, who is returning to Ireland, his native country. Next Monday I go to Venice to meet him. Father-General, yielding to the requests of my English brethren, has placed a heavy burden upon me, which I accept as coming from the hand of God, Who will grant me strength to bear it. The Queen of England has the intention of founding a convent of our Order in London, and will probably choose her sister[1] for foundress; she is at present Prioress of Modena, and I intend to call there previous to making the final arrangements with the Queen. I count on your own and your sisters' prayers during the long and fatiguing

[1] Princess Eleanor d'Este, born at Modena on 2nd January 1643, became a Carmelite nun under the name of Sister Mary Frances of the Holy Ghost. She took the habit on 3rd May 1674, made her Profession on 4th May of the following year, and received the veil on 12th January 1676 from the hands of the General of the Order. Although the projected foundation in London did not take place, in consequence of the precipitation of events, the Princess was destined to make another foundation, namely, that of Reggio in Lombardy (1689). She died at Modena in the odour of sanctity on 24th February 1722, aged seventy-nine. The process of beatification in her case has reached the stage where she may be called "Venerable." She wrote "Instructions for Novices," as well as letters on spiritual matters, in Italian, which were published, together with an abstract of her life, at Milan in 1754, by Father Frederic of St. Anthony. Father Bede is mistaken in calling her the sister of Princess Maria d'Este, who by the accession of the Duke of York became Queen. The latter was the niece of the Carmelite nun, with whom she lived for a time in the convent of St. Theresa at Modena.

journey before me, and for the work to be done in England, and I also ask you to recommend me to the sisters of Ceneda.[1] And now I take leave of my dear and much esteemed Mother Prioress, whom I shall next see in the glory of heaven, when we shall sing together the praises of the Blessed Trinity for ever and ever."

The next letter, dated from Cologne, is addressed to Father Pantaleon of St. Theresa, a member of the Carmelite community at Venice.

"VERY REV. FATHER IN CHRIST,—The peace of Christ and the grace of the Holy Ghost be with you. I wrote from Trent to Father-Provincial, and intend now to give you an account of the journey, which so far has proved prosperous beyond expectation,—thanks be to God,—a kind of continuous spiritual music accompanying us on our way. We have news of the progress of the Church, which gives us great joy. We arrived at Trent by the end of August, and a week later at Coire (Switzerland), where his Lordship the Prince-Bishop[2] informed us of the fall of Buda,[3] and showed us much kindness. We reached that place after a tedious passage over

[1] An Augustinian convent founded in the first half of the seventeenth century, and suppressed by Napoleon I., but since 1850 in the hands of the Daughters of St. Joseph. The church still bears the title "Del Gesù."

[2] Ulrich de Mont, Prince-Bishop of Coire, from 23rd February 1661 until his death on 28th February 1692.

[3] On 27th July 1686 the Duke of Lorraine took Buda from Cara Mehemet Pasha.

the mountains and through the desert valleys of the Grisons, the inhabitants of which are as poor as their sterile country, and mostly Protestants. Our vetturino, whom the Prior of Trent had engaged for twenty-five *lire* a day, declared on the second day that he would not proceed for less than forty, which would have brought the cost of that part of the journey to nine doubloons, Coire being six days' ride from Trent. By the help and advice of some hermits of our Order,[1] whose holy life is a source of edification to the whole country, we came to an agreement and pushed on, sometimes with one horse, sometimes with two. We passed those wild mountains without accident, having as guide a Catholic who knew the way very well indeed, and our expenses came to not more than three doubloons. At Coire the Rhine begins to be navigable, so that for two days we travelled on rafts, made of beams bound together, which are carried down the river by the force of the current. In this manner we reached the lake of Constance and the neighbouring Abbey of St. Gall, a celebrated Benedictine monastery, founded by the Scotch saint whose name it bears. The Prince-Abbot, an octo-

[1] Those "Hermits of our Order" possessed a monastery, valued at £1200, at a place called "Schreckbuehl," in the parish of Kaltern, on the road from Trent to Botzen, but nearer the latter place. Without being formally attached to the Order, they followed the Rule of Tertiaries. At the General Chapter of 1689, a petition supported by Eleanor, Queen of Poland and Duchess of Lorraine, was presented by the hermits of Bavaria and the Tyrol, praying for affiliation to the Carmelite Order, which was granted under certain conditions; but, for some reason unknown to us, the Hermits of Schreckbuehl withdrew from the Order in 1692.

genarian,[1] received us with great kindness, detaining us for a day, and putting four patagons in our hand for the journey. In fact, we were the object of much charity wherever we went, persons of high rank vying with poor Capuchins in bestowing favours upon us. The latter are doing much missionary work among the Protestants (in Switzerland); in many towns we said Mass in their churches and dined in their refectories, and, thanks to them, we were able to say Mass almost every day. We only remained one night in our monastery at Coblentz, or we should have missed the boat for Cologne. We reached this town on the first of October, and intend to stay here for some time, being busy completing our outfit. We have to buy secular clothes, and there being no Jews or second-hand shops, we are compelled to get everything new, which entails great expense. Our funds being altogether inadequate, the Prior advised us to call on the Apostolic Nuncio, who of his own accord asked whether we had enough money. I said that we were four scudi short, whereupon he exclaimed, 'Is that all? I really must give you a little more,' and forthwith handed us fifteen patagons, and also wrote a most kindly letter. Thus Our Lord provided for all our needs; so much so, that everything being paid, there remain two Hungarians[2] against the journey we intend to undertake to-morrow. I

[1] Dom Gallus Alt, Prince-Abbot of St. Gall from 1654 till 1687.

[2] A patagon or patacon was equal to ten florins and six sols; a doubloon was sixty-five shillings of our money; a Hungarian, ten livres Tournois, or about eight shillings.

beseech you to assist me in giving thanks to God for all His goodness, and to recommend to Him my further proceedings. I beg you to salute the Father-Provincial and Father-Prior, and to remember me to my dear Mother Prioress at Conegliano, and the whole community. Neither Father Augustine nor myself have suffered very much from headache, or in any other way, though we passed over high mountains, through snow and along precipices; only the wound in my leg has caused much inconvenience, and there has been a swelling. Although food was sometimes difficult to obtain, we never made use of the indulgence of our Rule, *Sumere poteritis pulmenta cocta cum carnibus* (When travelling, you may take soup cooked with meat). Praised be the Blessed Trinity, Amen. I salute all our Rev. Fathers and Brothers, and remain your unworthy servant and son,

"FATHER BEDA of St. Simon Stock.

"*P.S.*—My companion walks about with a sword, while I have a stick, like David setting out against Goliath. This morning I am going to give Holy Communion at the Carmelite convent, the Prioress of which is a noble Spanish lady,[1] a spiritual daugh-

[1] Mother Maria Theresa of Jesus, daughter of Don Juan Gomez y Sandoval, received the habit together with her sister, Mother Catherine of the Mother of God, on 21st November 1623, from the hands of Ven. Mother Ann of St. Bartholomew, and took the vows at the expiration of one year's novitiate. She founded the convent at Cologne in 1636, and died there on 19th May 1696, in the eighty-eighth year of her life and the seventy-second of her religious profession.

ter of the Ven. Mother Ann of St. Bartholomew, with whom she lived four years at Antwerp. She is now in her eighty-third year.

"COLOGNE, *6th October* 1686."

Arriving in England, after an absence of eight years, Father Bede found many things changed. He had left the country on account of Oates's Plot, he returned at a moment when the Catholic Church seemed on the point of being formally declared the religion of the kingdom. James II., far from making a secret of his religious convictions, paraded them but too ostentatiously, and, it must be said, provokingly, considering that the great majority of his subjects were Protestants, and full of misgivings as to the intentions of the Court of Rome. In vain did the Pope, through Cardinal Howard, advise moderation. James, with more zeal than wisdom, endeavoured to hasten events which were far from mature—a proceeding singularly ill-advised, seeing the wide breach between his faith and his morals. One of his favourite ideas was the re-establishment of religious houses in London. A Benedictine community was formed at St. James's, the Franciscan Recollects owned an establishment in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the Jesuits at the Savoy. James could not forget the Carmelites. His mother, Queen Henrietta, had been brought into contact with the Carmelite nuns in Paris by her own mother, Marie de Medicis, so much so that she spent the eve of her departure for England by assisting at the supper of the Theresian nuns. Returning to Paris at the close

of her royal consort's reign, she resumed her former relations with these nuns, to whom she introduced her sons, Charles and James, the latter of whom became a special object of the solicitude of the Ven. Mother Agnes of Jesus, Prioress of the Convent of the Incarnation.[1] Besides his personal knowledge of the Order, James was likely to hear of it through his Queen, who, as we have seen, was educated at the Convent of Modena, where her aunt was Prioress. It is not surprising, therefore, that he should have taken steps to introduce friars and nuns of that Order into his kingdom. Even before the return of Father Bede, the Definitory General "granted leave, at the instance of His Majesty, to make a foundation on the territory of His Serene Highness the Earl of Newburgh, 23rd. August 1686." This was Charles Livingstone, second Earl of Newburgh, Viscount Kinnaird and Baron Livingstone, of Flacraig, in the peerage of Scotland, who succeeded to the title in 1670, and died in 1694. The exact site of this foundation cannot be ascertained, in the absence of further particulars. The estates of the Earls of Newburgh were chiefly situated in Derbyshire, Sussex, Northumberland, and Leicestershire. On 11th December 1686 further leave was granted by the same authority "to receive residences in any place or places of the kingdom, and to nominate Vicars or Presidents of the same, considering the goodwill of His Britannic Majesty for our Order. God save the King."

[1] See *Chroniques de l'Ordre des Carmelites*, Troyes, vol. ii. p. 107, and also "Life of Margaret Mostyn," Quarterly series, vol. xxv. p. 225, note.

The following document will show that there was at least one practical result from these transactions: "In the year of our Lord 1687, on the 16th day of July (O.S.), *i.e.* on the feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, or on the 26th day of the same month (N.S.), feast of St. Ann, Mother of Our Lady, Pope Innocent XI., sitting in the Chair of St. Peter, James II. being Catholic King, Rev. Father Martialis of St. Paulinus, General of the Carmelite Order, Rev. Father Bede of St. Simon Stock, Superior of the English Mission, and Rev. Father Gaspar of the Annunciation, his assistant. We took possession of our London residence, a small house situated in a place called Bargeyard in Bucklersbury. A solemn *Te Deum* having been sung by musicians, High Mass was celebrated, the sermon (in French) being preached by the Rev. Father Peter of the Mother of God, late Visitor-General of the English Mission. Among the members of the community were the Revv. Fathers Adrian of St. Cecilia,[1] and Augustine of the Presentation, both zealously engaged in pastoral work. On Sundays and Feasts there is solemn Mass and Vespers, with a French or Flemish sermon in the morning and an English sermon in the afternoon, preached in turn by Fathers Lucian of St. Theresa and Augustine of the Presentation, before very large congregations."

In other words, community life, with all the exercises of regular observance, the recitation of the Divine Office, meditation in common, High Masses

[1] No further mention being made of this father, it is probable that he left England at the Revolution.

and Low Masses, was solemnly inaugurated in that small house in Bargeyard and the adjacent chapel. It does not appear whether the fathers were able to wear the religious habit, but it may be considered likely, since other Religious, for example the Capuchins, are known to have done so. Unfortunately no particulars concerning the life of this small community have been preserved, beyond the account of its inauguration and its suppression, of which we shall speak in the life of Father Lucian. Father Bede seems to have lived at Bargeyard, at least for some time, until increasing age and infirmity compelled him, even before the outbreak of the Revolution, to resign his office as Vicar-Provincial in favour of his brother, and to seek an easier post than the superiorship of a public and well-frequented chapel. Consequently he took the chaplaincy at Hammersmith House, the establishment of Mother Frances Bedingfield, of whom we have already spoken,[1] while his brother Lucian, who had held this office for nearly ten years, went to live at Bargeyard. Father Bede was well suited for his new position. With his help and advice Mother Bedingfield had established her school, and all the time he lived in London Father Bede remained her faithful adviser. The convent was prosperous beyond expectation, especially through the kindness of Queen Catherine of Braganza, who not only was a frequent visitor there, but also bestowed upon it part of her Royal mansion at Hammersmith. Almost immediately after the accession of James II. his Queen

[1] See pp. 225 and 231.

offered to the "Dames Anglaises" a large house at Whitefriars, which, however, was given up in 1688, Hammersmith serving once more as a comparatively secure refuge, as it had been during the Oates Plot. Father Bede remained there from 1688 until his departure from London in 1692. He there witnessed the Will of Mother Frances, dated 4th August 1691, and wrote the last two letters that have come down to us, which will give us some further insight into his beautiful character. They are addressed to the Rev. Mother at Conegliano:—

"May the peace and grace of the Holy Ghost fill your heart. I trust that the answer to your letter has reached you long ago. You show more affection for me than I deserve, although I should be unable to express all the esteem I have for you. I was pleased to hear that Father Cosmo had been elected confessor to your community, but now that he is Prior of the novitiate of Vicenza (though, perhaps, without novices), you ought to be resigned to the Will of God. I have received letters from the Mother Superior of Ceneda, and from Mother Eleanora Camuccio, which I must answer by one letter, being unable to keep up a large correspondence at such a distance. I am much consoled by what you tell me concerning your new high altar and its decorations. How good God is, and how much He would do for you were you at Venice or Padua, but it is your duty to remain where you are. I should like to sing Mass for you at your new altar, and I do so in spirit. I am staying with a religious community

four miles from London, at a pleasant spot with pure air. Many young ladies of good families are boarding here, this being a school for virtue as well as for education. My health is better than I could have expected, and I am ever in good spirits. You must pray for me as I do for you, until we shall praise God eternally for all His goodness and mercy. He seems desirous of exalting His Church more and more, and of spreading the Faith, as the news of the war against the Turks promises a great success for the glory of His name and the salvation of souls. Here in England we have good hope, the Queen being in excellent health, and hoping to become a mother very soon.[1] Thus Catholics are full of bright expectations, and numerous converts are received daily. I salute you all with affection.

"London, 10*th April* 1688."

Things turned out very differently, and instead of the fulfilment of these bright promises, we shall find a wholesale destruction of Catholic property, and especially of Catholic places of worship. Father Bede, being at that time no longer Superior of the Carmelite Mission, and living in a comparatively secure asylum, probably suffered less from the events of 1688 than most of his fellow-missioners. Even so the only remaining letter, written in 1690 or 1691, affords little hope for the future.

"My dear and esteemed Mother,—May the Holy Ghost ever enrich your soul with his Divine

[1] James III. was born 10th June 1688.

gifts. You will be pleased to hear that, notwithstanding the miseries with which we are afflicted in this country, I am enjoying freedom as well as health. . . . (Here Father Bede speaks at great length on certain spiritual matters). I am anxious about my position here. I am living comfortably enough with a Catholic family, but at present there is no prospect of conversions, nor am I able to appear in public or to see people. I think it would be better for me to bid farewell to this mission, and to retire to some monastery abroad, where I could prepare myself for death, though I dread being burdensome to others on account of my advanced age. I request you to pray for me, and to recommend me to the prayers of my former spiritual children, that I may know the Will of God, and have the strength to carry it out. I do not know whether you are still Prioress; if not, you should take it as a sign that God wishes you to prepare for an everlasting union with Himself. The responsibility of this mission was taken off my shoulders shortly before the outbreak of the present persecution; and I cannot but consider this relief a great blessing. . . . Please address your answer in this way: Al Signor Hooker. To be left at the Golden Ball in Wild Street, London." [1]

A grievous trial determined Father Bede to leave England for good. On 26th June 1691 his half-brother, Father Lucian, died, at the age of forty-nine. As we shall see, the two brothers were even more

[1] These words are in English.

closely united by the bonds of grace than by those of kindred, and there can be no doubt that the loss affected the surviving brother far more than he could tell. He obtained permission from the General to retire to St. Joseph's monastery at Paris, where he was by no means a stranger. Leaving England in August 1692, accompanied by two postulants,[1] his only desire was to spend the rest of his life in a quiet retreat, where he could prepare himself for death. Of the last years of his life, we possess a short account in the Obituary notice sent from Paris to the various monasteries where Father Bede was known. It is very significant that the writer complains that, although the deceased spent three years and a half in Paris, being in the full possession of his faculties, no one was able to elicit from him an account of his experiences as a missioner in England, or even a simple anecdote. He evidently never spoke about himself or the numerous persons with whom he had been in contact. In view of so much reserve, we cannot but feel grateful to his former Superiors, who secured the memoirs which we have placed before our readers. The only passage in the Obituary notice worth preserving is a statement concerning Father Bede's unshaken faith, his devotion to the Blessed Sacrament, and a prediction made to Bishop James Smith, the first Vicar-Apostolic of the Northern district, to the effect that England should one day return to the Catholic Church. This conviction had taken such hold of

[1] Fathers Edward of St. Thomas à Becket, and Andrew of St. Thomas. See Part III. chap. v., Nos. 19 and 20.

him, that he gave utterance to it even on his death-bed. Despite age and infirmity, Father Bede was most regular in attending choir both by night and day, nor was he ever absent from meditation, whether early in the morning or late in the evening. He was a source of edification not only to his brethren, but to all who knew him, and it is asserted that James II. considered him a saint. The angelic expression of his countenance bore witness to the unruffled peace of his soul. "During the illness which finally led to his death, he bore all his sufferings with the utmost patience, being overjoyed at the prospect of heaven. His only fear was lest his confidence should degenerate into presumption. Having received the last rites of the Church with the greatest devotion, Father Bede of St. Simon Stock departed this life on 17th January 1696, aged seventy-six, in the forty-sixth year of his Religious profession."

Besides the two Memoirs in Latin and Italian, the English translation of the works of St. Theresa, in which he had no small share, the translation of the work on the "Souls in Purgatory," and the "Veni Creator," he has left "A short and easy Introduction by way of a Dialogue between a Catholic and a Protestant," which was published at Douay in 1693, and also translated into French and Italian.

PART III

TRIALS AND VICTORIES

(A.D. 1678–1849)

CHAPTER I

FATHER LUCIAN OF ST. THERESA (GEORGE TRAVERS)

Father Lucian's early years and conversion—Becomes a Carmelite—Labours and sufferings during the Oates Plot—Destruction of the Carmelite chapel during the Revolution—Death of the missioner.

In the foregoing biography, mention was frequently made of Father Bede's half-brother, Father Lucian of St. Theresa. There are two memoirs of the latter, one in Latin, by himself, and the other in Italian, by Father Bede. As they form a supplement to each other, we will insert both. Father Lucian thus writes in the Chronicle of the mission:—

"On 8th September 1678, Father Lucian of St. Theresa arrived in England. His family name was George Travers. Born in 1642, near Exeter, of Protestant parents (his father being a prominent clergyman, and a distinguished preacher), at the age of twenty he chanced to come to London, and, by dispensation of Divine Providence, became acquainted with Father Bede, whom he had never seen before, himself a convert to the Catholic faith, and for many years a missioner of the Carmelite Order.

To him, next to the grace of God, he owed his conversion, being at the time afflicted with illness and frightened by a vision of hell, which was dispelled by the apparition of Father Bede holding out the scapular, of which he had never heard previously. Soon after his reception into the Church he was sent to Flanders, where he took the habit of the Carmelite Order at Louvain. During his novitiate the province was divided (1665), and he, becoming a member of the Walloon province, made his profession at Namur, whereupon he was sent to Lille for the study of philosophy and theology. Subsequently he lectured on science, both at Lille and Douay, until at length he received permission from the General, Father Emmanuel of Jesus Mary, to devote himself to the care of souls on the English Mission."

This very short account receives fuller light from the following passage in Father Bede's narrative:—

"One of the first boys whom I sent to Father Joseph's school at Hereford was a step-brother of mine on my father's side. When I left England for Rome, he was not yet born, so that I never knew him until I made his acquaintance under the following circumstances.

"He came to London at the age of nineteen, and unfortunately walked in the footsteps of the prodigal son. He wrote to me introducing himself as my brother, and begged me to come to see him. I found him reduced to the greatest misery, and

had to pay his debts in order to get him out of the hands of bad companions; I took him to my apartment, gave him an entire suit of clothes, provided him with everything necessary, and obliged him to remain in retirement for some time, supplying him in the meanwhile with some good books. I frequently visited him, and, through our conversation and his reading, he soon appeared quite changed, and told me that the Catholic Church was very different from what it had been pictured to him, and requested me to give him further instruction, with a view to his reception within her fold. At this juncture he was taken ill, and one morning, when I went to see him, he appeared in a state of great excitement. To my inquiry he replied that the devil had been busy the whole night tormenting him, and that another night of that kind would be his death. It seemed to him that the devil was ready to hurl him down into hell, but that by holding out the holy scapular I set him free. Yet until this moment he had never heard a word about the scapular. I praised him for having discovered this temptation to me, and said I hoped the devil would never again try to disturb him. And such was the case, for, from that time, he enjoyed perfect peace of mind. This reminds me of a similar occurrence, when I accompanied Father Constantine of the Cross[1] to the novitiate at Namur. He was over thirty years old, and infatuated by the vanities of the world. The very day before we arrived at the novitiate,

[1] See pp. 235 and 271.

a fierce contest took place between himself and the devil, but God gave him the strength and grace to overcome all diabolical illusions.

"Having recovered his health, and being instructed in the principles of the Catholic religion, my brother made a general confession, and I was satisfied with his behaviour and his progress. Sometimes he entered my room when people were there, and seeing the Earl of Kinnoul and others kneeling down and asking my blessing, he did the same. After his first communion, I sent him to Hereford, to Father Joseph, to begin his studies; and being endowed with a bright intellect, and studying as it were night and day, he made rapid progress in Latin. At the same time he applied himself to prayer and mortification, taking only a short rest at night, and that on a bare board. His master was greatly edified, and told me, after eight months, that he was sufficiently advanced to begin the novitiate. By Father Joseph's advice I called him to London, and thence sent him to Flanders. After profession he commenced the course of scholastic studies, and at the expiration of six years was nominated lector of philosophy and theology, an office he filled to the entire satisfaction of his Superiors, and to the profit of his pupils. Father-General then commissioned him to join the English Mission. By that time I had already left England, but at the General Chapter, held at Bologna in 1680, I requested the General to relieve me of the office of Vicar-Provincial, and to entrust it to Father Lucian, who holds it to the present day (1685)."

Father Lucian came to England in troublous times, and for a few years he experienced great hardships. When Father Bede was directed to write an account of the English Mission, he requested his brother to send a continuation of his narrative, which has fortunately been preserved. Arriving in London at the outbreak of the Oates Plot, Father Lucian had the great advantage of being unknown to the informers.

"You receive herewith," he writes, "an account of what has taken place since your own departure. May it be for the glory of God and the good of souls. On my return from Ireland, whither I had accompanied Father Charles of St. John, Visitor-General, the persecution was raging so that I had to change my lodgings; and having already for some time been confessor to the ladies at Hammersmith, at your own bidding, and given them religious instruction, I accepted their invitation to accompany them to their place of exile, all Catholics being banished ten miles out of London. At first they were assisted by the Jesuits, but, yielding to their entreaties, I went with them to a very retired place in the country. Nobody knew me, much less suspected my being a priest; nevertheless, the mere fact of living with those who were known to be Catholics was quite sufficient reason for my arrest, and in fact more than once our house was searched, and I stood in great danger of being imprisoned. One day, not less than seventeen soldiers entered our house, but, having been warned of their approach,

I had time to escape by a secret door, hiding myself in a shrubbery, but yet so near that I could distinctly hear them say, 'There he is! there he is!' The next day, the soldiers were accused of having entered a private dwelling without a warrant. In reply, they affirmed on oath that they had seen a priest, and that I had been noticed saying Mass, which, they affirmed, lasted from sunset till midnight. Feeling unsafe in a house where we were so frequently disturbed, we went to another, four miles away; but even there we were not free from trouble. Not knowing where to turn, we one night quietly came back to our old house at Hammersmith, where we passed a whole year without accident, but of course with many precautions. We had to send out at night-time for the things we required, but during the entire year I was always able to say Mass, to preach, and to instruct the pupils in Christian doctrine. However, most of the missioners being either in prison or gone abroad, I could not continue to enjoy this solitude, but was frequently compelled to go out late in the evening or very early in the morning, in order to assist those Catholics who lived hidden in London, and those in the provinces, the absence of priests being felt everywhere. Moreover, many Catholics were imprisoned in the Tower of London, and so closely confined and carefully watched, that no priest could approach them without risking his life, and running the danger of being mobbed by the bloodthirsty rabble. Being the least known among the London priests, it became my obvious duty to assist the prisoners at all costs, and there-

fore, under pretext of being steward to Lord Arundell of Wardour,[1] I went twice a week to see him, as well as Lords Powis and Petre, and the others. More than once, I was just saying Mass when the gaoler made his morning round and knocked at the door. At other times we made our devotions in the evening, finishing them early in the morning, before the arrival of the patrol.

"About the same time I became the confessor of the Spanish Ambassador, Marquis de Burgomaniera, and accepted nominally a secretaryship at the Embassy, so that I had to assume at the same time three several parts, and bore three different names. I was frequently obliged to absent myself from my usual residence, or at least went out and returned under cover of night. But it also happened that I had to go out in broad daylight, which I did by means of a secret door. Thus it came to pass that I became known, was watched, and finally taken prisoner, which happened in this way.

"On the Feast of the Epiphany in 1679–80, I had spent the whole night at the Tower with the Catholic lords. In the morning I went to the Embassy to hear confessions, and, being delayed, did not reach our house at Hammersmith before midday. There again I had to hear the confessions of a large household, and finally to say Mass. A Protestant having

[1] The five lords imprisoned in the Tower of London were Lord Arundell of Wardour, Lord Belasyse, the Earl of Powis, Lord Petre, and Viscount Stafford. The last named was executed on 29th December 1680, Lord Petre died in prison in 1684, the others were released on bail on 18th February 1684–85.

seen me entering the house, gave notice to Titus Oates, that great perjurer, who at once informed the Privy Council that a suspicious person of foreign nationality frequented a certain house at Hammersmith. Consequently a magistrate, a royal official, the aforesaid Oates himself, and a number of other people were despatched to search the house and arrest that suspected person. On a sudden the house was surrounded, so that there remained no way for me to escape. Accordingly I was arrested, and examined by Oates himself as to my wearing the tonsure. Finding that I spoke French and Latin without the English accent, he concluded that I must be a foreigner. The Spanish Ambassador had given me leave to pose as one of his secretaries, and so I feigned not to know English at all, saying that I was one of the staff of the Embassy, and had been invited to dinner by these good ladies, which sufficiently explained my call at noon. Nevertheless I was taken to London, one mile's distance, and committed to prison for some days, until the next meeting of the Privy Council. In the meantime I wrote to the Ambassador, and he complained to the Secretary of State of the insult inflicted on him by the arrest of one of his secretaries. At the next meeting of the Privy Council, at which the King presided in person, his letter was read, and without further examination (though I was in the Council Chamber) I was dismissed, and restored to the Embassy under a mounted escort, which had been waiting outside Whitehall. Owing to what I take to be a special dispensation of Divine Providence,

none of the Protestants who had often seen me at the Tower in my quality as Englishman and steward to Lord Arundell were present at Whitehall, and although Oates used every means to discover ornaments of the altar at Hammersmith, he found nothing of importance, though there were plenty to be had. I may also mention that the man who first gave the alarm died on the anniversary of my imprisonment, as did also several other persons who had helped in searching the house, while others met with various misfortunes in the course of the same year. Oates himself, under the present Government, has been indicted for perjury and many other crimes, and sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and to be publicly flogged through the streets of London five times every year."

The following article, referring to this episode, appeared in No. 55 of the *Domestick Intelligence, or, News both from the City and Country*, of Tuesday the 13th January 1679–80:—

"Information having been given to Dr. Oates that at a house in Hammersmith, near London, several suspicious persons did usually meet, he went immediately thereupon and acquainted the Lords of the Council with it, upon which they issued out a warrant to one of His Majesty's messengers, who, taking to his assistance one of the Justices of the Peace of the county of Middlesex, and as many other officers as was thought convenient, and accompanied by Dr. Oates and his servants, well armed,

they went to Hammersmith, and going privately into the town, they sent for Justice Yersby, who, with a head-constable and other officers, together with Dr. Oates and the messenger, went to Mrs. Beddingfield's house, who is a kinswoman of Beddingfield the Jesuit, and upon search they found divers children of several persons of quality, and three or four women to attend them. Mrs. Beddingfield herself did not appear, they being told that she was gone beyond sea, but there was an ancient gentlewoman (Mrs. Cecilia Cornwallis) in the house, who, it seems, was left as governess, whom the Justice ordered to appear the next day. Upon further search, several Popish books were seized upon, with an altar-stone and some other trinkets belonging to Popish priests, which were all left in the hands of the Justice. They then proceeded to the top of the house, and there, between two houses, they found an outlandish person, who said he was a Walloon, and that he belongs to the Spanish Ambassador. This person, together with the governess, were ordered to appear before the Council, and the Justice, also, to attend to the examinations taken before him. This house went under the name of a boarding school, yet we are told that Dr. Oates and some others have had an account that under that pretence there is a private nunnery maintained, to educate children of several of the Popish nobility and gentry in the Romish superstition and idolatry."

The next number of this newspaper is, unfortunately, missing at the British Museum, but the

following is from the Italian translation of an article it appears to have contained:—

"A house at Hammersmith, being much frequented by persons whose manners and dress caused suspicions, Dr. Oates received information that many Jesuits and priests hid themselves there. Wherefore power was granted to him, on behalf of the King and the Privy Council, to search the said house. After a diligent search, no one was found but a foreign gentleman, who was identified as a secretary to the Spanish Ambassador, and as such reported on the list of the members of his household at the office of the Secretary of State. It would seem that the landlady, much esteemed on account of her rare proficiency in the knowledge of the Latin, Greek and Hebrew languages, besides modern tongues, philosophy and mathematics, frequently receives visits of learned foreigners, and other people, which gave occasion to steps being taken against her, especially as she, and her large household, belong to the Romish religion. Being examined by His Majesty and the Privy Council, and having satisfactorily proved that she harboured no dangerous persons, as had been reported to them and to Dr. Oates, she was at once set free, and the gentleman was handed over to his patron, the Spanish Ambassador."

Father Lucian continues:—

"This storm having blown over, I remained for some days at the Embassy, where I received most

kind treatment. But not being at liberty to continue there for a long time, I repeated my calls at Hammersmith, at first cautiously, and only on feast-days, returning to the Ambassador as soon as my duty there was discharged. After a while I acted with more freedom, considering that the King and the Privy Council themselves had dismissed me, and resumed my customary work of preaching and instructing and visiting poor Catholics. The ladies at Hammersmith were still several times threatened, and I myself was obliged to seek a hiding-place, but was always able to go backwards and forwards; and, in short, from that time the institute has continued to prosper, being a good seminary, where many noble young ladies from all parts of the kingdom are educated and instructed in the Catholic faith. Not a year has passed, but I have received some twelve pupils into the Church, besides many more from other places, which I have also to visit; for my custom is to spend two or three days a week in different places in London, or even in the country. Thus I convert many, and also bring back stray sheep, but I am unable to give figures, because Dr. Oates has got hold of my register. At the present moment (1685) the household at Hammersmith numbers between fifty and sixty, most of whom wear the Scapular of Our Lady of Mount Carmel."

A few years later Father Lucian, then Vicar-Provincial, witnessed a deplorable event, already alluded to in another place: the total destruction

of that little chapel and residence in Bucklersbury, so happily founded by his predecessor, Father Bede. In the same document we read:—

"At the end of October 1688, the residence was completely destroyed by an infuriated mob. For on the 28th of that month (o.s.), which fell on a Sunday, shortly before Vespers, some young ruffians threw stones at the windows and broke them, after which they entered the house by forcing the doors, but were dispersed by the City Guard, sent to our assistance by the Lord Mayor. During the whole night, we were busy changing sacred vessels and other valuables to a place of safety, leaving the furniture to be removed on the following day, which being a holiday, namely, the Lord Mayor's Show, it was out of question to get the necessary carts. Immediately after dinner the rabble broke into our house again, dragging away all the furniture, and piling up in the Stock Market a huge heap of benches and stools, and the very pulpit, all of which was set on fire, in evidence of their impiety. In vain did we ask for an indemnity, for, owing to political troubles, almost every one abandoned the Royal cause and joined the Orange party. Everything saved from destruction was unfortunately lost through the burning of Wild House (the Spanish Embassy). For nearly seven weeks rumours were spread of the arrival of the Prince of Orange, the re-establishment of the Protestant religion and the abolition of the Catholic Church, so prosperous under the protection of the wise and pious King

James II., until at length the Commons, and in fact the whole populace, began to rebel, and violently to declaim against the toleration of Catholic chapels. The King being no longer able to protect himself and his family, on account of the treason of the nobility and the defeat of his troops, the Queen, with her infant child, left England on 10th December 1688 (o.s.) at dead of night, the King himself escaping from the palace the night following. No sooner had this become known than the mob began to swarm through the streets and highways, filling the air with loud clamour, and about four o'clock in the afternoon they invaded the house of the Friars-Minor in Lincoln's Inn Fields, carried away the furniture, which they piled up and set fire to, and finally pulled down the whole house and the newly built chapel to the very foundations. Being allowed to act thus without restraint, the word was passed to deal in a like manner with the residence of the Spanish Ambassador in Wild Street. Finding it quite undefended, owing to the extreme negligence of the authorities, they broke into it like madmen, burst open the doors of the chapel, profaned the altars, tore down the pictures, piled up the church furniture, altar-cards, pyxes, alms-boxes, and lit a fire which illumined that horrible work of the powers of darkness. They pulled down the whole house, which even to a barbarous nation ought to have been sacred. They dragged away numerous books and manuscripts, some of the utmost value, threw other books into the fire, rifled the goods deposited there for safety's sake, and in short destroyed every-

thing, so that barely the outer walls remained. Such an unheard-of outrage against international law was openly perpetrated in the sight of, and with the silent, if not open, connivance of the whole city of London. For some of the militia sent there for the protection of so sacred an asylum, treacherously joined the mob, and constituted themselves its ringleaders, and the city guard absolutely refused to interfere. The whole night and the ensuing day were spent in carrying off as many articles as possible, no matter whether they were the property of the Ambassador or of private persons, and, among others, we, the Discalced Carmelites of the English province, lost everything, since everything had been deposited in what was believed to be an inviolable sanctuary. Most of our books perished in the flames,[1] others were carried off. The whole furniture of our chapel, even the box containing the funds of the mission, besides manuscripts, documents, authentications, accounts, and reports of visitations, were lost on this occasion. Afterwards a violent persecution broke out against Catholic priests, necessitating our dispersion. Father Lucian of St. Theresa, Vicar-Provincial, sought a place of refuge; some left England, others withdrew for a time to the country. Such was the state of our mission at the beginning of 1689. May God provide for better times."

These extracts can be supplemented somewhat from newspaper articles. The *London Gazette*, the

[1] Except those which had previously been sent to Rome, and from which most of the foregoing memoirs have been compiled.

official paper, as might have been expected, was silent, and only condescended to insert an order from the Privy Council: "Whereas several disorderly persons did in a tumultuous and riotous manner last night insult the house of His Excellency the Spanish Ambassador, plundering, rifling, and defacing the same, and carrying away plate, goods, books, and papers of great value," their Lordships promise a reward to any one depositing such stolen goods in the Council Chamber at Whitehall, a promise which seems to have remained without effect (No. 2409, of 13th December 1688).

The *Universal Intelligence* is more explicit. In its first issue, dated 11th December 1688, it says: "Letters from divers parts of this kingdom assure us that the Protestants have demolished all the Popish chapels in and near York, Bristol, Gloucester, Worcester, Shrewsbury, Stafford, Wolverhampton, Bromidgham (Birmingham), Cambridge, S. Edmundsbury, &c."

The next number, of 15th December, refers to events nearer home. "At night there began a general rising amongst the rabble, who not only demolished the Popish convent and chapel of monks at St. John's, the convent and chapel of Friars in Lincoln's Inn Fields, the Popish chapel in Lime Street and Bucklersbury, but also the chapel and residence of the Florentine, Venetian and Spanish Ambassadors. They entered into the Romish convents and chapels without opposition, for all the monks, friars and priests were fled. All the Ambassadors, having a few minutes' notice of their

approach, escaped their fury. They first broke into all those places, and whilst some plucked down and threw out all the goods, pictures and furniture out of the windows, others without and below set them on fire. This being begun in several places at one time, the whole town seemed in a flame. The Spanish Ambassador at Wild House sustained the greatest damage, for the rabble not only burnt and demolished his chapel, some of his goods, and ran away with the rest, but destroyed a choice library of books, writings of great importance, and plate to the value of near £15,000. They also demolished the Popish printing-house, burnt all its presses, and many reams of paper and books."

No. 2 of the *English Currant* of Friday, 14th December, gives the following description:—

"*London, 12th December.*—No sooner was the King's withdrawing known than the Mobile consulted to wreak their vengeance on Papists and Popery, and last night began with pulling down and burning the new-built Mass-house near the Arch in Lincoln's Inn Fields. Thence they went to Wild House, the residence of the Spanish Ambassador, where they ransacked, destroyed and burnt all the ornamental and inside part of the chapel, some cart-loads of choice books and manuscripts. And not content here, some villainous thieves and common rogues, no doubt, took the opportunity to mix with the youth" (the "apprentices" are repeatedly mentioned as the principal members of the "rabble"), "and they plundered the Ambassador's house of plate, jewels, money, rich goods, &c. And also many

others, who had sent in there for shelter their money, plate, &c., amongst which one gentlewoman lost a trunk, in which was £800 in money and a great quantity of plate.

"Thence they went to the Mass-house at St. John's, near Smithfield, demolished it quite; from thence to Blackfriars, near the Ditchside, where they destroyed Mr. Henry Hill's printing-house, spoiled his formes, letters, &c., and burnt two or three hundred reams of paper, printed and unprinted. Thence to the Mass-house in Bucklersbury and Lime Street, and there demolished and burnt as before. And this night they pulled down the Resident of Florence's Chapel, in the Haymarket, where a company of the Middlesex militia was drawn up, commanded by one Captain Douglas, a cheesemonger, who was killed, as is thought, by one of his own men, whom he commanded to fire upon the rabble. Thence they went to the Nuncio's and other places at that end of the town, but finding the birds flown and bills on the door they drew off."

The Nuncio having left London, a bill had been posted at his door, "This house is to be let."

The *Mercury* of 15th December gives a similar report, to which it adds, "From Hammersmith we have an account of the Mobile gathering together, resolving to pull down a Papist school, and breaking the windows of several other Papist houses in this town." As to the windows we have no further information, but it appears that the resolution of pulling down the Hammersmith convent was not carried out.

Nothing else is known concerning the last years of Father Lucian. He died in London on 26th June 1691, aged forty-nine years, having spent a little more than half his life in the Order of Our Lady of Mount Carmel.

CHAPTER II

FATHER EDMUND OF ST. JOSEPH (GEORGE LOOP)

Birth of the missioner—Profession—Experiences at Hereford—Worcester—Account of these missions.

George Loop, born in 1648, was the son of George Loop and his wife Winefrede, of Hereford, and brother to Ursula Loop, who married Thomas Price, the father of John Price, a pupil of the English College in Rome.[1] The entire family were Catholics, and apparently in tolerably good circumstances, since they could afford to send their son to Flanders for his education. He completed a course of humanities with great success, presumably at Louvain, whereupon he entered the Carmelite novitiate in that town, exchanging his family name for that of Edmund of St. Joseph. Having made his profession on 22nd October 1667, at the age of nineteen, he resumed his studies in philosophy and theology, and spent a year at the missionary College of St. Pancras, outside the walls of Rome. Some of the old Carmelite missioners having died, the vacancies were filled up by young fathers, among whom was Father Edmund, who arrived in

[1] See Foley, "Records," vol. vi. p. 455.

England on 27th September 1677, "in order to exercise Apostolic functions and to bring back to the Saving faith of the Catholic Church souls infected with the plague of heresy." The following notice in Father Lucian's records gives us an idea of his experiences in the discharge of this commission:—

"Father Edmund of St. Joseph is a very devout and excellent missioner, who has done and suffered great things for the glory of God. However, not having seen him since I received your order to write these papers, I can only give an incomplete account of his labours. He was stationed in the county of Hereford when the Plot was being hatched. Though less than a year had elapsed since his arrival on the mission, he had become so generally known that Captain John Scudamore,[1] a Justice, was eagerly on his track, hunting him from place to place, and setting spies to discover his resorts, so that, being nowhere safe, he had to keep himself hidden in the woods during the day, visiting in the night-time the houses of Catholics, to whom he administered the sacraments, receiving in return what was needful for the support of life and strength. In this manner he spent a long time, concealing himself occasionally in the hay or straw of stables. His persecutors, being incensed at his wonderful escapes, went so far as to plunge their swords into haystacks where they supposed

[1] Captain John Scudamore, of Kentchurch Court, co. Hereford, the Justice who seized the Ven. Martyr John Kemble at Pembridge Castle, the seat of the Catholic branch of the Scudamore family.

him to be hidden. Seeing that the persecution was not likely to cease, and that Scudamore was determined to hunt him down, Father Edmund deemed it his duty to change his field of labour. His work had become all but impossible, and, besides the imminent danger to himself, his apprehension would have brought certain ruin upon those who had harboured him. Disguised as a farmer's wife, with a basket and pork on his arm and a hamper of vegetables on his head, he passed unnoticed through the villages where he was so well known, and arrived safely at the place where a change of dress was waiting for him, and eventually reached London without accident. But ere long he again found himself in constant danger of being arrested and imprisoned. One day the officials searched the whole house in which he was staying, entering into every room except the one he actually occupied. Another day, having climbed on the roof, they came to the window of his room, but were unable to break it open. Seeing himself on all sides surrounded by dangers, he resolved to return to the country. Hereford,[1] his own mis-

[1] During the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. Hereford was served by the secular clergy. In 1625 the Jesuits went there, and remained until the outbreak of the Civil Wars, when the Benedictines came, and stayed until 1664. As we have already seen, Father Joseph of St. Mary resided in or near Hereford from 1646 until the outbreak of the Plot. In 1679 or 1680 Father Edmund went to take the latter's place, and from that time the mission remained in the hands of the Carmelite Order until the middle of the eighteenth century, when the Jesuits took it over. Since 1857 Hereford is the Cathedral town of the Benedictine diocese of Newport.

sionary station, being out of the question on account of the perils he had only just escaped, he went to Worcester, where many Catholics lived, who had not seen the face of a priest for a whole year, so that he was welcomed as though he were an angel from heaven. There was a great deal of work to be done, and night after night he went from one family to another, administering the sacraments and preaching the Word of God. As it was sometimes necessary that he should also go out by day, especially when visiting distant houses, he used to dress in rags like a beggar. The money he received from rich people for his own support he distributed among the poor, thus remaining poor himself. In this truly apostolic life he persevered for about a year and a half, having no certain abode, but visiting in turn all the houses of Catholics in the district, taking advantage of the night for his wanderings, and walking on foot despite the rain, snow and the many hardships of the road. At length his health gave way under these privations; but his flock, fully appreciating his devotedness, would not hear of his removal, but only requested me to send another priest to lighten Father Edmund's task. I chose Father Francis of the Child Jesus,[1] who had recently returned from Flanders, but could not remain in London, where he was well known, having been chaplain at the Spanish Embassy. He therefore joined Father Edmund at Worcester, where they took a house, in order to lead as far as possible the Regular life; and while one

[1] See chap. v. No. 1.

went to the surrounding villages to visit Catholic families, the other remained in town, exercising pastoral functions. In this way they are serving God and assisting their neighbour, by the administration of the sacraments and the preaching of God's Word; they also had received numerous converts into the Church."

The following passage is an extract from a document already quoted in another place:—

"In the year of Our Lord 1678, a dreadful persecution was raging in England under pretext of a Catholic conspiracy against the life of the King, but in reality for the set purpose of thoroughly extirpating the Catholic faith and banishing its adherents. Many persons, chiefly priests, were cast into prison, dragged before the tribunals, falsely accused, condemned on the evidence of perjured witnesses, and unjustly sentenced to death. At that time, Father Edmund of St. Joseph, a missioner in the county of Hereford, underwent much suffering, being constantly obliged to hide himself in stables and barns or in the woods. Towards the Feast of the Purification he was called to London, and thence sent to Worcester,[1] where he established a new missionary station.

[1] Worcester was served by the Jesuits from the reign of Elizabeth until the Oates Plot persecution obliged the fathers to seek safety in flight. They returned, however, at the latest in 1701, and are still in possession of the mission. The Franciscans also had a station in or near Worcester at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The Carmelite Mission, founded in 1679, was given up about the middle of the last century. See "The Worcester Mission," by Rev. J. G. Macleod, S.J.

Other priests having been driven from that neighbourhood, he alone took charge of a congregation of two hundred Catholics, until, at the end of about two years, *i.e.* in 1680, Father Francis was sent to his assistance. A house, situated in Floregate Street,[1] was built in the reign of James II., which the Vicar-Provincial, Father Bede, erected into a residence of the Order (1686), nominating Father Francis Superior of the mission. With the approbation of the King and the Privy Council, the chapel was opened to the public upon Christmas Eve, a solemn Mass with music being sung, and a sermon preached for the occasion. Father Bede of St. Joseph[2] having joined the Fathers there, the three priests commenced the monastic life, adding to their religious exercises the functions of the holy ministry. Thus the chapel became a field whence a rich spiritual harvest was gathered in, until, upon 28th November 1688, the news spread that the Prince of Orange had reached the English shore at the head of a Dutch army. Having been warned that our chapel was marked for destruction on the following day, we spent the night in removing the sacred vessels and church furniture, as well as our books, to the houses of our friends. Midnight passed, we consumed all the Hosts and put the Ciborium in a place of safety, together with the remaining silver vessels belonging to the chapel. By order of the Vicar, Fathers Edmund and Bede left the town before daybreak, while Father Francis himself made good his escape later in the

[1] Elsewhere it is called "Foregate" and "Fourgate."

[2] See chap. v. No. 4.

day, though not without difficulty. Towards midday the rabble gathered outside the house, pelting the Cross over the door with stones. The crowd soon swelled, until there were as many as ten thousand people in front of the chapel, which they burst open and ransacked, pulling down part of the building, dragging away and burning the furniture in the public square. However, thanks be to God, a year or two later we were able to build up our house again, hoping to be soon able to re-open the chapel to the public."

From the same document we learn that, in 1702, when it was drawn up, the mission was entrusted to Fathers Ignatius of St. Theresa, as Vicar, and Joseph of the Assumption[1] as assistant priest, while there was also "a third residence, at Hereford, erected by Father Edmund, with the authority of the General, since the revolution."

Father Edmund succeeded Father Lucian in the office of Vicar-Provincial, which he held for at least twelve years, during which time he lived in London as chaplain to a Catholic family.[2] He died there on 6th February 1716, aged sixty-eight, in the forty-ninth year of his profession, "a true Israelite," says the obituary notice, "in whom there was no guile."

[1] See chap. v. Nos. 15 and 17.

[2] By codicil, dated 8th December 1698, Catherine Winford, of the parish of St. Giles, left legacies of £10 and less to the following Carmelites: George Loop, Charles Wharton, Dr. Kemble, Messrs. Brett and Fleetwood (See chap. v. Nos. 10, 1, 4, and 15), and further: "To the English Carmelites £20 towards a foundation of a house or convent for them." These bequests were forfeited in 1717. (See O. Payne, "Records," p. 112.)

He was the author of a book entitled "The Queen of Heaven's Livery; or, a Short Treatise on the Institution, Excellency, Privileges and Indulgences of the most famous Confraternity of Our Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel, commonly called the Scapular. Together with a brief relation of the antiquity and never interrupted succession of the Religious Order of the Carmelites, to whom the Blessed Virgin Mary gave this Her Sacred Livery." By G. L., Dis. Carm. Antwerp, 1709. 16mo.[1]

[1] There seems to have been an earlier edition, printed in 1706. Father Hyacinth of St. Catherine (chap. v. No. 24) having announced a reprint in 1725, Bishop Giffard ordered its suppression on the denunciation of Rev. Richard Jameson, an eccentric priest, who seems to have been somewhat tainted by Gallican ideas. (See Gillow, Bibl. Dict., vols. iii. p. 609, and iv. p. 331.)

CHAPTER III

FATHER GASPAR OF THE ANNUNCIATION
(JOHN BAPTIST DE DONCKER)

Early years of the missioner—Joins the English Mission—Zealous labour in London—He assists Viscount Stafford and the Ven. Oliver Plunket on the scaffold.

JOHN BAPTIST DE DONCKER was born at Brussels in 1633, and entered the Carmelite Order at Douay on 21st March 1656. He made his novitiate and took his vows (2nd April 1657) at St. Albert's monastery at Louvain, whence he returned to Douay for his studies. After his ordination he was sent to Brussels, where he did pastoral duties during fifteen years, his reputation as an experienced confessor, and his zeal and indefatigable labour for the salvation of souls soon attracting large numbers of penitents to his confessional. Among these was Don Pedro de Ronquilio, the future Ambassador of Spain to St. James's, who, upon his appointment, addressed himself to the General of the Carmelites, and succeeded in obtaining Father Gaspar's affiliation to the English province. His arrival in London was all the more timely, as many priests had had to leave England by reason of the persecution, while those who remained at their posts

were every way hampered in the exercise of their ministry.

Father Gaspar arrived in London on 20th August 1680, and took up his residence at the Embassy in Wild Street. He assumed the name Don Gaspar de Lorenz, and speaking, as he did, the Spanish language with fluency and elegance, he was admirably suited for the post of chaplain to the Ambassador, while on the other hand he was highly esteemed by the numerous Catholics, to whose spiritual needs he ministered with edifying zeal. Father Lucian devotes some interesting pages to this excellent religious:—

"Among all our missioners, there is not one who works more assiduously, or does more good than Father Gaspar. Besides English, French and Latin, he speaks Flemish, Spanish and Italian, and hears the confessions of numerous foreigners in their own languages. At the time of his arrival in England, there were but few priests who dared expose themselves to the dangers involved in the service of their neighbour; but he, being a foreigner and under the protection of the Ambassador of Spain, ran less risk, and never thought of danger or fatigue, for hardly a day passed but he went from one end to the other of this immense City of London, administering the sacraments, visiting the sick, and instructing Protestants with a view to their reception into the Church.

"Moreover, he visited those that were imprisoned; and those condemned to die he prepared for a holy

death. When sentence was pronounced against my Lord Stafford,[1] he spent three days with him, saying Mass in his cell, and comforting him by the administration of the sacraments. He even accompanied him from the prison (in the Tower) to the scaffold (on Tower Hill), remaining with him to the last, and helping him to die a holy death. He did this in face of the imminent danger of being stoned to death by the infuriated mob. The noble Lord having received the last absolution, died as it were in the arms of his ghostly father, as has been set forth in the account sent to our General. He was also in Newgate Prison with that other pious martyr, the great prelate, Archbishop Plunket,[2] Primate of All Ireland, whom he

[1] William Howard, Viscount Stafford, was sent to the Tower on 25th October 1678, where he remained eighteen months without being brought to trial. On 21st May 1680 he was arraigned under the statute *Habeas Corpus* before the Court of King's Bench, but it was not until 30th November that he was placed at the bar of Westminster Hall. On the seventh day of the trial he was found guilty of high treason by fifty-five Lords against thirty-one. The execution took place on 29th December 1680, his dying speech being very noble.

[2] The Ven. Martyr, Oliver Plunket, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, born at Loughcrew, co. Meath, in 1629, went to Rome in 1645, and entered the Irish College there the following year. After ordination, he remained in Rome until 1669, when he was nominated Archbishop of Armagh, which See he occupied until 6th December 1679, when he was arrested on suspicion of conspiracy, his chief accuser being John MacMoyer, whom he had suspended for various crimes. Removed to London in 1680, he was tried before the Lord Chief-Justice, Sir Francis Pemberton, and Justices Dolben and Jones, at the beginning of June 1681, sentenced to death, and eventually executed on 1st July (O.S.) 1681.

assisted at the hour of death. He followed him to the scaffold (at Tyburn), and pronounced the last absolution at the very moment he was cut down to be quartered, and I (Father Lucian) had the honour of holding the sacred head and the quarters of the venerable martyr in my own hands, and placing them in a chest after the cruel sentence had been carried out in all its gruesome details.

"The same Father Gaspar, moreover, during the most perilous times, accompanied a poor Frenchman to the gallows. This man, having been sentenced for some crime or other, Father Gaspar, in the presence of an immense number of spectators, heard his confession, recited with him the Litany, together with other prayers, and from the scaffold spoke to the people as to the reasons why one should rather die in the Catholic faith than in the Protestant religion. It seems hardly credible that he was not torn to pieces then and there for so daring a speech.

"I fully believe he hears as many as ten thousand confessions a year, and on his register I find a large number of baptisms and marriages, as well as the following figures concerning conversions: In 1681 he received into the Church twelve persons, in 1682 thirteen, in 1683 thirty-one, in 1684 sixty-seven, and until 5th May 1685, twenty-one. While there were priests in the prisons of London, he showed unwearying charity in visiting them almost daily and providing for their needs, for which purpose he collected large sums of money."

It is to be regretted that more has not come down to us concerning the labours of this zealous missioner. He died in London on 8th June 1694.

While yet at Brussels he did some literary work, publishing (in 1678) an illustrated life of St. John of the Cross, with Spanish text, and translating from the Italian into Spanish the life of the Ven. Mother Theresa of the Holy Ghost, which appeared at Cologne in 1667 in 8vo. This saintly person, whose full name was Duchess de la Cerda, entered the Carmelite convent at Naples in 1626, and having been repeatedly elected Prioress of Naples and Palermo, died at the former convent on 28th January 1659, aged seventy-five years.

CHAPTER IV

FATHER PETER OF THE MOTHER OF GOD

Father Peter's labours abroad—Arrival in England—Life at the Embassy—Remarkable conversion of a Calvinist—Literary labours of the missioner.

FATHER PETER of the Mother of God (whose secular name is not known), was born at St. Omer about the year 1635, and made his profession about 1652, probably at Louvain. He only finds a place among the English missioners inasmuch as he laboured in England for seven or eight years. He was the founder of the Carmelite monastery at Valenciennes, which he opened on the 4th of August 1680 by authority of Louis XIV., a great admirer and benefactor of the Order of Carmel. Exactly a year later Father Peter came to England at the bidding of the General, who was just then occupied in his official visitation, but was not prepared to cross the Channel. Father Peter, having brought the visitation of the English Province to a close, decided on remaining in London, and took up his residence at the Imperial Embassy, but after some time left Count de Thun for Don Pedro de Ronquilio, the Spanish Ambassador. His assumed name was Obert.

We possess three of Father Peter's letters, from which we make the following extracts. On the 9th

of February 1682 he writes to the Procurator-General in Rome:—

"Hitherto there has been neither opportunity nor necessity to trouble you with letters. Now, however, an occasion presents itself for me to give you some news concerning my life in this country. A lady, on whose charity I am depending for the means of subsistence, has an only son [1] who, she hears, is at present at the English College in Rome, having previously spent some time at Lucca, whence he wrote to her, but it is now four months since she had a letter from him. I beg of you to pay a visit to this young gentleman, who belongs to one of the most ancient and most respected families of this Kingdom, his father having distinguished himself during the troublous times in the reign of Charles I., and having preserved his faith as well as his loyalty. Will you be good enough to hand him the enclosed letter personally, and forward his answer to Father Andrew at Brussels, who will have it placed in the packet of the Ambassador.

"Now, as to my experiences in this city, unfor-

[1] "The name of the young gentleman is Dodington," says the postscript. Francis Jameson, otherwise James Dodington, son of Francis, from Somersetshire, aged twenty-one, was admitted into the English College on 7th November 1681, according to the above letter, without the knowledge and consent of his mother, who resented the step. He left the College of his own accord, without taking the oath, 2nd April 1682. He was one of the scholars sent from St. Omer as witnesses in favour of the Jesuits when upon their trial to discredit the evidence of Titus Oates. The Dodingtons of Dodington, co. Somerset, were a very ancient family. (See Foley, "Records," vol. v. p. 132, and vi. p. 432.)

tunately I was shown much coldness by Count de Thun, who raised difficulties about money matters. Instead of refunding my expenses for the journey and the outfit, which came to eighty scudi, he only gave me sixty florins, which is less than one-third, saying that he would increase my pension so as to make up the difference. But even so there remained not a penny after defraying board and lodging. Next he coolly informed me that, whereas he had expected to require two chaplains, he had now discovered that one was quite enough.[1] Since the beginning of September I am stationed with the Spanish Ambassador, having my meals at the table of His Excellency, a favour which is not granted to the other five chaplains, but only to me in virtue of my office as preacher. I have had the honour of preaching the Advent sermons before the Ambassador, and am now preparing for Lent, which, however, will only begin in March, as we still keep to the old style of the Calendar. There are here three Fathers of our Order, viz. Father Gaspar, Father Richard of St. Joseph [2] and myself. There are also three Irish priests; the chief chaplain, eighty years old, a very holy priest; a Franciscan, learned and mild, who for some years was Professor of Divinity in Rome; and a Dominican, a spirited but somewhat jealous man.[3]

[1] This chaplain was Father Simon Stock of St. John Baptist. See the following chapter, No. 2.

[2] Ibid., No. 3.

[3] Father Dominic Maguire, O.P., was elected Archbishop of Armagh on 14th December 1683, as successor to the Ven. Martyr Oliver Plunket, the See having been administered in the meantime

"We celebrated the Feast of St. Theresa with as much splendour as in our churches abroad, with music, sermons, and such a large concourse of people as though it were a public holiday.

"Some ruffians having lately torn down the portrait of His Royal Highness the Duke of York, which was in the large hall of the 'Hotel de Ville' (Guildhall), by the side of that of the King, five thousand pounds have been offered for the discovery and arrest of the perpetrator of the outrage.

"We are at present enjoying perfect peace, and our chapel, notwithstanding its size, is every Sunday filled to excess, so that the clergy have sometimes difficulty in reaching the altars. On Sundays and feasts we have High Mass and Vespers, and the population is so well disposed towards our church that, if the persecution ceased entirely, we should soon see the Catholic religion restored throughout the kingdom.

"I am at present engaged in the instruction of a French lady, a Calvinist, and beseech you to pray that God may bless my labours. I begin to speak English fluently, and I now enjoy good health, after having suffered for a time owing to the English climate."

by a Vicar-Apostolic, Dr. Dromgole. By Brief of 12th January 1684, he was empowered to exercise Archiepiscopal functions previous to receiving the Pallium. With others, he was instrumental in saving the library of Trinity College, Dublin, from destruction in the Revolution of 1688. He fled to Paris in 1691, and died on September 21, 1707. The Spanish Ambassador used to have a large number of chaplains, sometimes as many as twelve, of different nationalities and various Religious Orders.

The next letter, dated February 8, 1683, informs us that Fathers Francis, Edmund, and Bede of St. Joseph, are engaged in missionary labours at Worcester, while Father Lucian is devoting his time to the Catholics of the metropolis, and Fathers Gaspar and Richard are principally working among the numerous foreigners; as for himself, his chief occupation consists in preaching, but he would wish to be better qualified for so important an office. After the Chapter-General he hopes to return to his own Province, to spend the rest of his days in retirement. The remainder of the letter deals with domestic affairs.

The last letter we possess of Father Peter, dated 4th of March 1685, contains an interesting account of a conversion:—

"Although the Almighty in His infinite goodness has made use of me in the conversion of several people, His mercy appeared particularly tender in the case of a French merchant domiciled in the City of London. Imbued from childhood with the doctrine of Calvin, he manifested such zeal in its propagation, that he was raised to the office of deacon in the Huguenot Church. His stepmother, however, being Flemish, is a born Catholic. He had promised in nowise to molest her, but to leave her full liberty of conscience; yet without directly interfering with her religion, he derided it on every occasion. Far from allowing herself to be influenced thereby, she frequently expressed her opinion that he would eventually become a Catholic himself, to which he

only answered that he would sooner be a Turk, seeing that we, Catholics, had tampered with the commandment forbidding the 'making of graven things.' Ten days after this conversation he was seized by illness, and notwithstanding his youth (he was only thirty), his life was despaired of. One night he begged to be left alone, whereupon she retired to her own room, where she implored God on her knees to restore him to health of body and soul, through the intercession of St. Charles Borromeo, for whom she had great devotion. Having remained in prayer for about half-an-hour, she returned to the sick-room, full of confidence that her prayer would be granted. Strange to say, that very same night the patient became a different man. He said to his stepmother, in presence of his wife, 'Oh happy you who have been brought up in the Catholic faith from childhood. Our Lord and Saviour showed me this night that in it alone salvation may be obtained, and that you should be saved, whereas I seemed to be condemned for my unbelief, and I felt as if my whole head were burning, and sparks of fire were issuing from my eyes and mouth. But the Lord, stretching out His hand, drew me to Himself and showed me that I should find salvation in the Catholic Church. Remain therefore unflinchingly in your Faith until the end of your life. You could have rendered me no better service than praying as you have done to St. Charles for my conversion and eternal happiness.' To his wife he said: 'If you desire the salvation of your soul, dearest, you must embrace the Catholic faith; but even if you

do not, I wish my little boy to be brought up a Catholic rather than a Protestant.' The old lady was speechless with amazement. At last she hesitatingly asked whether he would like to see a priest, whereupon he eagerly answered that he desired nothing more. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of his wife, who ascribed it all to delirium, the stepmother hastened to call me. Though suffering severely myself, I scrambled as best I could to the carriage which was waiting for me, and when I came to the house of the patient my pain suddenly left me, a fact which I cannot but consider surprising, seeing that for the next three weeks I was unable to leave my room. I found him so firm in his determination that I at once proceeded to receive him into the Church, the urgency of the case permitting no delay for further instruction. He made his profession of Faith with great devotion, and was just preparing for the reception of the sacraments when a Protestant clergyman arrived, having been secretly sent for by the wife. He not only interrupted me in my work, but even uttered threats of having me arrested and imprisoned if ever I showed myself in this house again. Nothing remained for me but to withdraw, while a number of Protestants took possession of the sick-room, from which even the stepmother was excluded. But what I was unable to do myself, or to have done by a brother priest, the invalid did himself. Such was his fervour, that during the last few days of his life he unceasingly made acts of contrition for his sins, and repeatedly expressed his determination to belong to

the Catholic Church and receive the sacraments. Once, as the mother entered the room stealthily, he said to her, 'Is not that which the priest has done for me sufficient to make me a Catholic?' to which she answered in the affirmative. Another day he said, 'O mother, how many and grievous temptations have I to endure! But by God's grace I will persevere. He will surely accomplish the work He has begun.' Only a few hours before death he was heard saying to his wife and the Protestants around him, 'You are only hurting me by bringing Mr. N. (the minister) to this house; you had better send for the priest who called the other day.' In these holy dispositions he persevered until the end. The French Protestants, who are very numerous in London, were exasperated against the lady, and persecuted her in every possible way, until she was obliged to return to Brussels. The wife threatened to accuse me of high treason, for which I should be hanged. I should add that, no one having observed the mother praying for the conversion of the patient, the latter can only have known this fact in some supernatural way."

The last trace we have of Father Peter's labours in London is the sermon he preached at the opening of the Carmelite chapel in Bucklersbury in July 1686. He probably left England at the outbreak of the Revolution, and returned to his own Province. He was a clever linguist, speaking French, Italian, Spanish, English and Flemish; and besides being an eloquent preacher, he was also a kind and

prudent confessor. He died at Douay on the 1st of April 1705, at the age of seventy, in the fifty-fourth year of his religious profession.

He wrote a "Life of St. Theresa," which was published at Douay, and a "Manual of Devotions" to the same saint. He also translated the letters of St. Theresa, with the notes of Father Peter of the Annunciation, from Spanish into French. This latter work was published at Lille.

CHAPTER V

THE MISSIONERS OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

Fathers Francis and Simon Stock (Kemble), and Father Richard (Bateson)—State of the mission in 1702 and 1731—Father Blyth and the Marquis de Pombal—The College of Tongres—Fathers Clarkson and Brewster—Last members of the first Carmelite Mission—Father Hermann and the New Province.

Of the many missioners of the eighteenth century, as well as of those of the nineteenth, we possess but brief record; we do not even know the Christian names, or the dates of the most important events in the lives of some of them. This is not due to any negligence on the part of the missioners themselves, but to the loss of the archives of the English Province at the death of Father Clarkson, and likewise to the loss of the libraries and archives of many monasteries on the Continent during the Revolution, which dealt so mercilessly with many monastic institutions abroad. The Roman archives have been searched for letters and documents concerning the English missions, but have yielded very little that is of interest. The missioners of the last century, moreover, did not leave diaries and memoirs like their predecessors. The position of the Church in

general, and of priests and religious in particular, was quite different from what it had been; instead of the violent persecution, with its phases of tragic interest, we find the faithful oppressed by those legal enactments that were in some respects more terrible than the sword. Under the influence of the Penal laws, the number of Catholics in England gradually grew less; old missions had to be abandoned, as the people became too fearful to embrace the Faith. Attendance at Mass and absence from the Protestant service meant a monthly tax, and the education of children at foreign Catholic schools, or by Catholic tutors at home, was punished with a fine. It was, as it were, a cry for "Blood or Money," and it must be acknowledged that eventually the terror of it prevailed. Previous to the Orange Revolution the number of English Catholics of all conditions was very considerable, but in the course of the following ninety years it dwindled down to 50,000, according to Burke's estimate. The lists of fines for recusancy at the Public Record Office show how one Catholic family after another fell away from the Church, while, on the other hand, the list of chaplaincies shows the gradual but steady disappearance of numerous centres of Catholic worship. The scarcity of records relating to the English Jesuits of the eighteenth century, compared with the brilliant history of the Society during the previous century, is hardly less instructive. We are therefore fully prepared for the decline of the Carmelite Mission in England. In addition to which reasons we must also mention the nefarious influence of the anti-

religious spirit which dealt an all but fatal blow to the monastic institutions, and particularly to the Carmelite Order. Out of more than two hundred and twenty monasteries of the Italian congregation to which the English Mission belonged, scarcely forty survived the widespread social upheaval. The secularisation of thousands of Religious, the destruction or alienation of churches or monasteries, the loss of libraries and funds, reacted on the missions founded and supported by the Order. The reception of members to the Order in Europe having been stopped, most of the ancient missions in the East had to be abandoned. The English Mission met with a like fate. Towards the end of the last century many young Englishmen joined the Order, but before they had completed their studies the house where they received their education was secularised, and the suppression of all the houses formerly at the disposal of the English Mission rendered the admission of postulants well nigh impossible.

1. Father Francis of the Child Jesus has been repeatedly mentioned in the foregoing pages. His family name was George Kemble. The son of respectable and Catholic parents of Hereford, he took the Carmelite habit at the monastery of Louvain, where he also made his profession on the 22nd of October 1652, being then nineteen years old. He commenced his studies in Flanders, but completed them at the missionary College of St. Pancras in Rome. In June 1665 he came to England, where he remained until the beginning

of 1670, in which year he returned to Flanders; it is not stated for what purpose, but most likely to spend a year at the "Desert" of Marlagne. Upon All Saints' day of the following year he came back to London and resumed his missionary labours, until Oates denounced him as an abettor of the "Plot"; he sought safety in flight, but, without waiting for the restoration of peace, returned to England from Flanders, and joined Father Edmund at Worcester. In 1702, at the latest, we find him again in London, where he probably remained until his death, which occurred in 1711, in his seventy-eighth year. He seems to have been a relation of the Venerable Martyr Father John Kemble, of Hereford, who suffered death at the time of the Oates Plot, on 22nd August 1679.

2. Father Simon Stock of St. John Baptist, otherwise Francis Kemble, of Hereford, was a brother or cousin of the preceding, and of Father John Joseph of St. Angelus.[1] Having been sent to Flanders for his education, he joined the Carmelite Order at Louvain, where he made his profession on 17th May 1671, being then in his nineteenth year. The name of his father was John Kemble, that of his mother, Ann. He was one of the pupils of Father Joseph, and evidently possessed much talent, for when he had completed his own studies at Brussels and Rome (St. Pancras) he was appointed professor in the College of his Province. Ere long the increasing persecution in England

[1] See p. 221, note 1.

necessitated changes among the missioners, and Father Simon Stock was obliged to interrupt his lectures to come to the assistance of the English Catholics. He accepted a chaplaincy at the Imperial Embassy, which entailed very laborious work, as he was the only chaplain, except during the few months when Father Peter of the Mother of God assisted him; and there was an exceedingly great number of Catholics within Father Simon's district.

Father Lucian writes as follows concerning this priest: "Father Simon has remained ever since he joined the mission with the Ambassador of the Emperor, the Count de Thun, Knight of Malta, who keeps a public chapel, of which this father has charge. It is frequented by hundreds of people, who are entirely dependent on the chaplain for the reception of the sacraments. Being an industrious and studious man, well versed in controversy, and having a wonderful aptitude for explaining the doctrine of the Catholic Church, he has probably been more successful than any one else in making converts, for I find that since his arrival on the mission until this day (Nov. 1680 to May 1685) he has received 180 persons into the Church, among whom are several learned Divines, and many persons remarkable for knowledge or social standing." In 1702 he was attached to a private chapel in London. His death is recorded on the 2nd of March 1720, when he had reached the sixty-eighth year of his age, the forty-ninth of his profession, and the forty-fourth of his priesthood.

3. Father Richard of St. Joseph, in the world George Bateson, born in London about 1657, of Catholic parents, who were greatly esteemed for their piety, received his education partly at Bruges, partly at Paris, where he eventually joined the Carmelite Order. During his studies at the monastery of Charenton he showed great talent for literary work, and at the same time proved himself a very earnest religious. At the request of the Spanish Ambassador, Don Pedro de Ronquilio, he was sent to London (23rd July 1681), where he was attached to the chapel in Wild Street. Father Lucian says of him:—

"Father Richard is the latest arrival among our missioners; he came here from Paris in 1681, and is chaplain to the Ambassador of Spain, in which capacity he has proved himself worthy of praise. I believe as many as five hundred Catholics rely on him for the sacraments. Up to the present (May 1685) he has received into the Church fifty-two persons, solemnised twenty-eight marriages, and converted twenty-six Protestants. His instructions on Christian doctrine are well attended, and he has had the consolation of reconciling seventy Catholics, who had fallen away from the Church through fear of persecution. He shows great respect for his Superiors."

From a remark in Father Peter's letters we gather that Father Richard, notwithstanding the success of his ministry, expected to be recalled to Paris. The Revolution, however, rendered his presence in London necessary, and he continued

his labours, evidently at the sacrifice of his health, for he died in 1694, at the early age of thirty-seven.

4. When Father Peter of the Mother of God came to England in 1681 as Visitor-General, he was accompanied by FATHER BEDE OF ST. JOSEPH, a professed religious of the Gallo-Belgian Province, who had to act as interpreter, Father Peter not knowing the English language. John Brett, the son of respectable parents settled in Herefordshire, took the habit at Namur, and made his philosophical and theological studies at Lille. He probably had been one of Father Joseph's pupils, and it was only natural that he should devote his time and talent to the mission at Hereford. Father Lucian has only a short paragraph concerning him:—

"A short time after Father Edmund had withdrawn from the mission at Hereford, Father Bede was sent to England, and being unknown there, although a citizen of the town, he took Father Edmund's place, who personally introduced him to his friends. He is still there, giving great edification by his humility and earnestness. He always goes on foot, though his duties may call him to places twenty or thirty miles distant. He is much beloved by his flock, for his zeal in the service of God and his neighbour."

At a later period we find Father Bede at Worcester,[1] but in 1702 he appears again at Hereford, with Father Edward of St. Joseph as his assistant.

[1] See p. 335.

He died in London in 1711, at the age of about fifty-four. His name appears among the signatures of the declaration relating to Usury.

5. FATHER LOUIS, a member of the Province of Brabant, arrived in London about the same time as the preceding. He was an Englishman, of the name of Kettlebeater, but nothing is positively known either of his parentage or of the date of his entrance into Religion. Having held for a short time the chaplaincy at the Portuguese Embassy, he was recalled at the instance of his parents, who lived somewhere near Louvain.

6. John James Busca, born at Brussels in 1632, took the habit of the Carmelite Order at the age of nineteen, and made his profession on 21st April 1652. His name in Religion was FATHER CHARLES OF ST. JOHN. Being highly talented, he was nominated professor in Antwerp; among other offices entrusted to him, he filled that of Prior at Bruges from 1670 till 1673, and from 1676 till 1678. From Bruges he went to Holland as Superior of the Dutch Mission, and later on to the Holy Land and Persia as Visitor-General. On his return from the East he was sent to Ireland, and thence to London, where he received hospitality in Wild House, the residence of the Spanish Ambassador, who was so impressed by his learning, and so edified by his exemplary conduct, that he himself took steps to secure his services as first chaplain in the place of Father Maguire, who had just been nominated Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of

All Ireland. Father Charles remained in London until his death, which occurred on the 4th of January 1688. It seems that he was seized with his fatal illness while administering to some dying person. "Peaceful all his life," says the necrology of the monastery of Antwerp, "he peacefully yielded his soul to its Creator."

7. Father Angelus of St. Joseph, whose secular name was Joseph Labrosse, was born in 1636 at Toulouse, of rich parents. He entered the Carmelite Order in his native town, and having made his studies with brilliant success, obtained leave to devote his life to the missions. He spent eighteen years in the East, where he acquired a reputation as linguist, some of his Persian and Arabic works being consulted by scholars even at the present day. His principal occupation, however, was missionary work, in which he was so successful, that upon his return to Rome he was highly distinguished by Pope Innocent XI. The General of the Order being about to proceed to Flanders for a Canonical visitation, took Father Angelus as his companion, and entrusted him with the visitations of the Dutch and English missions. He remained in London, at the Spanish Embassy, from 1681 until the Orange Revolution, dividing his time between missionary duties and learned pursuits, among other works preparing for the press a history of Persia, which unfortunately perished in the conflagration at Wild House, together with numerous manuscripts brought from the East. The events of 1688 caused Father Angelus to go to

Ireland, very likely in the expectation of a speedy change in political matters. But after some time he returned to his native country, where he filled various offices, until death overtook him at Perpignan on the 29th of December 1697.

8. Father Louis of St. Thomas of Canterbury, in the world William Price, son of Thomas Price and Eleanor Jenkins of Carmarthenshire, born and baptized on 2nd November 1657, was one of the candidates for the Order who accompanied Father Bede of St. Simon Stock to Italy. He was probably the nephew whose history has been told by Father Bede himself.[1] He took the habit at Vicenza on 8th November 1682. Nothing further concerning him has come down to us.

9. Father Onuphrius of St. Theresa (Edward Aisley), son of Robert Aisley and Jane Morecroft, of Wolsingham, born and baptized on the 28th of August 1661, took the habit with the preceding. In 1702 he appears to have been Vicar of the London residence. He died in Dublin in 1711.

10. Father Christopher of St. Alexius (Charles Wharton), of London, the son of Humphrey Wharton and Anne Byerly, was born and baptized on 30th September 1663, and took the habit at Vicenza on December 8, 1685. He joined the mission about 1697, and did excellent work in Buckinghamshire for a number of years. Besides administering the sacraments to the Catholics of the district, he edu-

[1] See p. 226.

cated young men, some of whom ultimately joined the Order. He was still alive in 1735, being then attached to the London Mission, and occupying the post of second consulter. The date of his death is not known, but a letter of 1755 speaks of him as of "venerable memory." Father Christopher of St. Augustine (No. 26) was his nephew.

11. Father Ildephonsus of the Conception, John Bateson, of London, son of Brian Bateson and Mary Tribbet, was born on 13th February 1669, and baptized on the 21st of the same month. He took the habit with the preceding, and was sent upon the mission in 1704, when he assumed the name Carminat. In 1717, while living in the parish of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, he registered, under the statute of 1 Geo. I. cap. 55, "a farm at Aston, a hamlet of Remenham, value £18, 2s." By his will, dated 3rd February 1741, and proved 12th January 1747, "John Bateson, of Great Queen Street, in the Parish of St. Giles-in-the-Fields, left his estates to his friends and executors, Edward Shaw, living at Blackmore Park (Father Richard of St. Joseph, No. 27), and Thomas Pickering, of Aspley, co. Notts, Gent. (No. 39)." His death must accordingly have taken place towards the end of 1746.[1]

12. Father Luke of St. Barbara was not an Englishman, but having worked on the English Mission for some years, deserves a notice in these pages.

[1] See O. Payne, "English Catholic Non-Jurors of 1715," p. 9. Also "Records," by the same author, p. 5.

His secular name was James van Erp, of Antwerp; those of his parents, Henry van Erp and Jane Liberts. Born in 1643, he made his profession at Louvain on 12th December 1666. He was in London in 1702, and died there in 1721, the exact date being unknown.

13. Father Sigismund of the Presentation, Cornelius van Erp, a brother of the preceding, was born at Antwerp in 1646, and professed at Louvain on the 26th of November 1669. He died at Antwerp on March 4, 1721, in the fiftieth year of his priesthood. The necrology states that he was a great lover of solitude and retirement, which caused him to spend the greater part of his monastic life in his cell, occupying his spare time with painting, for which he had a remarkable talent, especially landscape. He spent some years in England as chaplain to the Spanish Ambassador, but returned to Flanders at the outbreak of the Orange Revolution. "Assiduous in attending to the confessional and ministering to the poor, to whose bedside he was frequently called at all hours, both by day and by night, he became universally beloved."

14. Father Remigius of St. Louis, whose family name was Pierre Duret, was born in 1661 at Bourbourg, near Dunkirk. The son of Pierre Duret and Antoinette Lamstremet, he made his profession at Louvain on the 27th of January 1683. He laboured for thirty-four years on the English Mission, principally in London, and died at Dunkirk 11th December 1728, in the forty-third year of his priesthood.

15. Father Ignatius of St. Theresa, John Fleetwood, born about 1662, made his profession at Vicenza in 1681, and joined the mission either in 1689 or 1692. At one time he held the office of Vicar-Provincial. He probably was a near relative, if not a son, of Sir Richard Fleetwood, Knt., and third Baronet of Calwich, co. Stafford. He spent the greater part of his missionary life at Worcester, and acquired merited renown for his learning, especially in moral theology. He died in 1733, aged seventy-one.

There is a catalogue of the Province,[1] dated 1702, showing the following missions and missioners:—

Hereford	Fr. Bede of St. Joseph (Brett), Vicar	(4)
„	Fr. Edward of St. Joseph	(16)
Worcester	Fr. Ignatius of St. Theresa (Fleetwood), Vicar	(15)
„	Fr. Joseph of the Assumption	(17)
Bucks	Fr. Christopher of St. Alexis (Wharton)	(10)
London	Fr. Francis of the Child Jesus (Kemble),	(1)
„	Fr. Luke of St. Barbara (Van Erp)	(12)
„	Fr. Remigius of St. Louis (Duret)	(14)
„	Fr. Augustine of the Presentation	(18)
„	Fr. Edmund of St. Thomas of Canterbury	(19)

[1] The following members of the Belgian Province have acted as Visitors-General in England, but the dates of their several visits cannot be ascertained:—

Fr. Marcel of Ste. Barbara (Adrian Heuvelmann, of Louvain), 1645–1709.

Fr. Sebastian of Ste. Helen (Henry van Hoorenbeke, of Antwerp), 1685–1758.

Fr. Michael of St. Jodocus (Michael Jonneau, of Brussels), 1693–1752.

The foregoing were attached to the chapels of the foreign ambassadors. The following served private chapels:—

Fr. Edmund of St. Joseph, Vicar-Provincial . . (Loop)
Fr. Onuphrius of St. Theresa (Aisley) . . . (9)
Fr. Simon Stock of St. John Baptist (Kemble) . (2)
Fr. Andrew of St. Thomas (Price) . . . . (20)

16. Father Edward of St. Joseph is only known to us from the above list and the obituary notice, which assigns his death to the year 1727. He belonged to the Province of Normandy.

17. Of Father Joseph of the Assumption and

18. Father Augustine of the Presentation nothing whatever has come down to us, except that the latter was a member of the Community in Bucklersbury in 1687.

19. Fathers Edmund of St. Thomas of Canterbury and

20. Andrew of St. Thomas were probably the two English students who accompanied Father Bede (Travers) to Paris when he retired to that city in 1692. The former, after having spent some time on the English Mission, returned to France, whence he proceeded to Mount Carmel (1733), where he remained three years. The latter, whose secular name was Thomas Price, was born about 1676, and professed in 1693. Having been sent on the Eng-

lish Mission in 1701, he chose London for the field of his labour. In 1735 he was first consulter, and probably died soon afterwards.

21. Nothing is known of FATHER JOSEPH OF ST. JOHN BAPTIST, except that he died shortly before 1731, having held the post of second consulter for some time.

22. FATHER EDWARD OF ST. THERESA was most likely one of the former pupils of Father Joseph at Hereford. His secular name is not known, but he was one of those who joined the Province of Venice. He came to England in 1690, and died in London in 1725, at the age of sixty-three. "Full of merits," says the necrology.

23. FATHER GABRIEL OF ST. ELISEUS is only known from his mortuary notice, which records his death as having taken place in the year 1725.

Another document, relating to the English Mission, is a letter, dated 28th of September 1731, written by Father Andrew of St. Thomas (No. 20) to the General. It is accompanied by a list of the members of the mission, sixteen in all. Many of these were quite young, while eight candidates were still abroad, either at Naples or Bordeaux, preparing themselves for the sacred ministry. This increase in numerical strength was undoubtedly due to the exertions of Father Christopher (Wharton), who, as we have seen, had adopted the plan of Father Joseph

at Hereford, of training Catholic youths for the religious life. Although the Definitory General, by decree of 18th May 1698, had given permission for the foundation of a hospice in one of the neighbouring provinces, of which the missioners for some reason had been unable to avail themselves, the want of an exclusively English novitiate was still quite as much felt as in the days of Father Simon Stock. To counteract as far as possible the consequences of this defect, Father Christopher had opened a preparatory school in Buckinghamshire, with the result that within a few years the novitiates at Modena, Naples and Bordeaux had to be opened to the future English missioners. Thus we find in 1731 quite a number of young religious in England, while the next few years promised to be even more prosperous in this respect.

The writer of the letter remarks that the authorities in Rome had probably formed a somewhat inaccurate idea of the state of the mission and the life of the missioners: "It is true," he says, "we have residences at Hereford and Worcester besides London, but they are scarcely more than names. At present there is no missioner at Hereford, and as to Worcester, there is only one; and even he has been there for a short time only. Here in London we are fairly numerous, but cannot live together. We are dispersed through the whole city, and only meet once in three months for the transaction of business and the cultivation of fraternal charity. Neither have we public chapels, but say Mass secretly like the first Christians. We enjoy parochial rights,

administering the sacraments of Baptism, Penance, Matrimony, and Extreme Unction, and depend for our subsistence on the alms of the faithful, so that sometimes we are fairly provided for, but at other times we have to struggle with poverty. The subjoined list will show you what funds we possess; the proceeds therefrom, however, are barely sufficient for the most urgent needs of the mission, and the travelling expenses, as well as the cost of the outfit for our young missioners. Certain of these items are foundations of perpetual Masses, and consequently can never be disposed of, so that you will see that in the event of persecution nothing is left us wherewith to assist the poor and those in prison."

The funds consisted of:—

£15	Interest on	£300,	the gift of	Mr. Acton.
15	„	300,	„	Mr. Pierre Croce.
5	„	100,	„	Miss Herbert.
22	Annuity payable at the Banque de Paris.			
7	Moiety of the rent of a house at Worcester.			
£64	Total yearly income.			

In addition to this there were £150, a fund, yielding no interest, collected by several people in Worcestershire and Monmouthshire; also £16, cash in hand, and finally the library of the mission. Sixty-four pounds a year, with obligations attached, is certainly not too much for fifteen or sixteen missioners, and had it not been for certain manual gifts and "stole dues," the priests would never have been able to eke out a living.

The names of the missioners are as follows:—

Fr. Hyacinth of St. Catherine, Vicar-Provincial, Lancashire . . . . . (24)
Fr. Andrew of St. Thomas, 1st Consulter, London . (20)
Fr. Christopher of St. Alexis, 2nd Consulter, London (10)
Fr. Ignatius of St. Theresa, Worcester . . . (15)
Fr. Ildephonsus of the Conception, London . . (11)
Fr. Placidus of the Blessed Trinity, London . . (25)
Fr. Christopher of St. Augustine, Worcestershire . (26)
Fr. Richard of St. Edward, Oxon . . . . (27)
Fr. Lambert of Jesus, Berks . . . . . (28)
Fr. Bede of the Assumption, Kent . . . . (29)
Fr. Valentine of St. Joseph, London . . . (30)
Fr. James Mary of St. Margaret, London . . (31)
Fr. Bede of St. Edward, London . . . . (32)
Fr. Peter Mary of St. Theresa, London . . . (33)
Fr. Simon Stock of the Blessed Trinity, Wilts . (34)
Fr. Charles Mary of St. Joseph, London . . . (35)

24. Father Hyacinth of St. Catherine, who had lately been confirmed in his office as Vicar-Provincial, which he held altogether thirteen years (1729–1742), was born at Croston, in Lancashire, on 23rd June 1696, his parents being William Cuerdon and Jane Rymer. John Cuerdon was professed at Louvain on the 30th of September 1715, and ordained priest on 21st September 1720. Four years later he joined the English Mission, residing first for a year (September 1725–1726) with Nicholas Blundell, Esq., of Crosby Hall, Lancashire, and after that date at Sefton, doing also duty at Croxteth, both chaplaincies being maintained by Lord Molineux. He died in London on 28th September 1761.

25. Father Placidus of the Blessed Trinity was a Frenchman by birth, his family name being Pierre du Roy. Born about 1682, he made his religious profession in the province of Normandy in 1701, and came to London in 1722, where he accepted a chaplaincy at the Spanish Embassy which he held till 1739, probably the date of his death. A learned theologian and excellent preacher, he found an enormous amount of work, and attracted large audiences by his splendid sermons in French.

26. Father Christopher of St. Augustine, whose secular name was William Smith, was the nephew of Father Christopher of St. Alexis (10), and one of his pupils. Born about 1701, he entered the Carmelite Order in the Province of Normandy, whence he was sent to England in 1725. In 1738 and the following year he was attached to the chapel of the Spanish Ambassador, but the greater part of his missionary life was devoted to the service of a small congregation assembling in the domestic chapel of a noble family in Worcestershire. This mission having been given up in 1755, at the death of the last Catholic member of the family, Father Christopher appears to have taken up his abode for the rest of his life in London. The date of his death is not known. While recommending him for the office of Vicar-Provincial, Father Simon Stock (34) speaks of him as "a grave man, beyond reproach, remarkably fit for such a position on account of his learning and sound judgment. He has exercised the functions of Visitor-General in Ireland."

27. Father Richard of St. Edward, whose name in the world was Edward Shaw, was probably a fellow-student of the preceding, both being of the same age, and having made their profession together. In 1731 he held a chaplaincy in Oxfordshire, but was subsequently transferred to Hereford, and is mentioned in 1741 as chaplain at Blackmore Park, co. Worcester. He had a reputation for learning, and is stated to have been the most talented among the younger generation of missioners. The date of his death is not on record.

28. Father Lambert of Jesus, whose secular name was Thomas Burton, was born about 1695, and made his profession in the Province of Normandy in or about 1722. Having come to England in 1726, he obtained a chaplaincy in Berkshire, where he went by the name of Damar.

29. Father Bede of the Assumption (Robert Brinkworth) was born in 1702, and made his profession in the Province of Paris in 1724. Three years later he joined the English Mission, doing duty somewhere in Kent. Nothing else is known of this missioner.

30. Father Valentine of St. Joseph, whose secular name was Thomas Crisp, but who assumed the name of Gillow, was born about 1701, and made his profession, together with the following three missioners, in the Province of Naples in 1723. They were probably all pupils of Father Christopher,

and they all returned to England in May 1731. Father Valentine died in London in 1736.

31. Father James Mary of St. Margaret was a Scotchman, his name in the world being James Gordon, born in 1702. He was chaplain at Longford Hall, Salop, the seat of the Talbots, from 1732 till 1742, when he left in consequence of a dispute that had arisen concerning the power of missioners, which was settled by a Brief of Benedict XIV. Father Gordon went to Newton, near Chester, the seat of Sir John Fleetwood, Bart., which was in the Northern Vicariate, but the dispute alluded to seems to have ultimately led to his retirement.[1]

32. Father Bede of St. Edward, otherwise Edward Yates, was born about 1705. His translation of St. Bonaventure's "Meditations on the Passion of Our Lord" was published in 1773, probably after his death, in a posthumous volume of Father Simon Stock (34).

33. Father Peter Mary of St. Theresa (Peter Seel, otherwise Butler; probably a Seel of Liverpool, his mother being a Butler of Ratcliffe) was born in 1705. From 1741 to 1752 he held a chaplaincy at Stonyhurst, in the service of the Duchess of Norfolk, Mary Winefrid Francisco, only surviving daughter of Sir Richard Shireburne, who married the eighth Duke of Norfolk, and died without issue in 1754. She was a great friend and benefactress of the Carmelite Order, and is stated to have had

[1] See Gillow, Bibl. Dict., vol. i. p. 252.

Carmelites as chaplains in all her country residences as well as at her town house. At her death she left £300 for Masses.

34. Father Simon Stock of the Blessed Trinity, whose family name was Francis Blyth, but who went under the assumed name of Courtney, was born in 1704 or the following year. "He was educated in the Protestant principles of his parents; occasionally, however, he felt dissatisfied with the practice of the Established Church, and sometimes mentioned his scruples to the parson of his parish. On one occasion, observing the manner in which he administered Baptism, he took the liberty of expostulating with him, and expressing his apprehension that the child had not been duly baptized, to which the clergyman answered that he had better become a Papist at once. From this time Mr. Blyth redoubled his inquiries, and these ended in his becoming a Catholic."[1] It is not known what circumstances led him to the Carmelite novitiate at Modena. Previous to his profession he obtained a dispensation from Rome (19th November 1723), a defect in his left eye being an obstacle to his promotion to the priesthood. He made his studies at Malta, and returned to England in November 1730. After some years spent in Wiltshire, he obtained a chaplaincy at the Portuguese Embassy, which he held until the end of his life, namely, from the 16th of December 1741, as ordinary chaplain, with a yearly salary of £18, which, at his appointment to the

[1] Gillow, Bibl. Dict., vol. i. p. 252.

dignity of Chaplain-Major in May 1756, was raised to £24. The Registers and Inventories of the chapel drawn up by this Religious, and still preserved at the Portuguese Embassy, throw a curious light on the state of the Catholic Church in London in the middle of the last century.[1] The first Ambassador with whom he came into contact was Don Joachim-Joseph de Cavalho e Melho, better known by his subsequent title Marquis de Pombal, who was probably as yet far from dreaming of his future grandeur, and still farther from foreseeing his ultimate downfall, but who had already manifested his passion of ambition, avarice and duplicity. Among the Pombal papers in the British Museum (Add. 20797) there are two letters of Father Simon Stock to the Ambassador, who at the time was out of town. The first, dated December 2/13, 1745, was written at a critical moment, when the events in Scotland filled the English with fear of Catholicism. Father Simon complains that Mr. Cajetan has not enough prestige at Court to efficaciously protect the chaplains of the Embassy, and requests Don Joachim de Cavalho to obtain for him surer protection. "Of all Catholic priests," he says, "the Ambassadors' chaplains are the most exposed, because they are the best known. Only yesterday the mob seized one of them, and not patient enough to take him before a Justice of the Peace, they dragged him through the mire, and having kicked and insulted

[1] *Etienne Granville, Carme*, appears to have held a chaplaincy at the Portuguese Embassy from October 1724 till his death, which occurred on May 24, 1740. It has not been possible to further identify this Religious.

him to their hearts' content, threw him into the river." Under existing circumstances, Father Simon finds it advisable to quit the Embassy before he likewise is forcibly carried away, but is ready to return if the Ambassador is willing and able to protect him from outrage. In fact he reminds His Excellency that he merely remained in his service on account of a work contemplated by the Ambassador, in the composition of which he had a share; but as it now transpires that it is to be published in Germany or Vienna, there is no reason for him to remain in England, and unless prompt assistance is forthcoming he will request another Ambassador to provide him with a passport. "Yesterday," he continues, "Mr. Monfort [1] was seized in his own house and nearly strangled. He was dragged to Piccadilly, and sent in a cab to Colonel Duveil, who had him removed to Newgate prison, in virtue of a statute of Queen Elizabeth."

The Ambassador's answer is not preserved, but from Father Simon's next letter, dated December 6/17, we gather that it must have been a specimen of that exquisite courtesy of which the Marquis de Pombal possessed the secret, and which assisted him in achieving some of his most astounding successes. Father Simon's rejoinder deals chiefly with business matters of no general interest. At a later period, when Pombal had abused his unlimited power as Premier of Portugal for the purpose of crushing the Portuguese nobility and the Jesuits, against whom he had an old grudge, Father Simon,

[1] François Monfort, Capuchin, who became chaplain to the Ambassador in 1748, but resigned in 1751.

in a letter addressed to the Vicars-Apostolic in England, protested that he had no share in these violent proceedings.

Father Simon Stock was Vicar-Provincial from 1742 until 1755. On the 9th of October of the last-named year he wrote a detailed account of the state of the English Mission, from which we quote the following passages. The library contained a considerable number of valuable works, although, owing to the unsightly binding of the majority of the books, its appearance was far from imposing. He unfortunately gives no information as to their number or nature, but there can be no doubt that, by the subsequent loss of the entire library, not only printed books but also valuable manuscripts have perished. He complains that priests are sometimes sent to England before a chaplaincy has been found for them. There are numerous Irish priests in London attached to no particular mission, and therefore obliged to eke out a livelihood as best they can. It seems that some of the Vicars-Apostolic were too easy in receiving priests for whom they had no regular occupation, and whom they were unable to support. The Carmelite Order possessing no funds, the Superior requests that no young missioners be sent before he has secured a chaplaincy for them, since they would otherwise be exposed to misery, and even manifest danger. Another subject, mentioned long before, is the establishment of a novitiate somewhere on the Continent. This request had been frequently brought under notice of the authorities in Rome, where it met sometimes with

a negative answer, while on other occasions circumstances prevented the English missioners from giving effect to more favourable replies. This time, however, the project was destined to be fully realised but, as we shall see, the permission was not only granted somewhat tardily, but even came too late It was intimately connected with the names of some Religious of whom we have yet to speak.

Father Simon Stock remained chaplain to the Ambassador of Portugal until his death, which occurred on the 11th of December 1772. He was buried in the cemetery of St. Pancras, where a memorial was raised in his honour, being a man of great literary attainments, and author of many admirable spiritual treatises. Engaged with Bishop Challoner in publishing a new and fine edition of the Rheims Testament, he was also the author of a paraphrase on the Seven Penitential Psalms.[1] The necrology of the Order speaks of him as being "most renowned for his learning and apostolic labours, and while filling for many years the post of Vicar-Provincial, of laying, as it were, the foundation-stone of the English Mission."

The following works were either written or edited by him:—

1. The Rheims Testament, with Annotations, &c. London, 1738, in fol. Edited in conjunction with Bishop Challoner.
2. "A Devout Paraphrase on the Seven Penitential Psalms." 1741, 1742, 1751 (seventh edition). 1873.
3. "Eternal Misery, the necessary consequence of Infinite

[1] Gillow, *loc. cit.*

Mercy Abused." London, 1742 (second edition). In reply to William Whiston's "Eternity of Hell-Torments Considered."

4. "Sermons for every Sunday in the Year." London, 1742–43. 4 vols. Second edition, 1763, in two volumes.

5. "Caution against Prejudices in Matters of Devotion."

6. "Explanation of the Respect paid to the Holy Cross." Several times reprinted.

7. "The Streams of Eternity."

8. Sermon on the Veneration of the Cross.

9. Sermon on the Passion of Our Lord.

10. A Farewell Sermon.

11. An Exhortation to Decent Behaviour in Chapels (posthumous).

12. The Edition of Father Yates's Translation of the "Meditations of St. Bonaventure" (see No. 32). London, 1773–74.

35. Father Charles Mary of St. Joseph, whose secular name was Edward Cox, was born about 1699, and made his profession at Modena in 1725. He had not finished his course of studies at Siena when he received orders to come to England (26th March 1731), where we find him among the chaplains of the Portuguese Ambassador (1732–33); but ere long ill health obliged him to return to the Continent. Later on, however, he resumed his missionary labours in London, accepting once more a post at the Portuguese chapel, which he filled from the 17th of July 1738 till the 26th of May 1758. His death must have taken place soon after the last-named date. In such esteem was he held by his brethren, that he was proposed to the General of the Order for nomination to the office of Vicar-Provincial.

36. Father Ambrose of St. Angelus, of the Roman Province, is known to have died in London in 1743.

37. Father Richard of St. Silvanus, whose name in the world was Anthony Firth or Frith, was born on 7th January 1719, at Frickley, in Yorkshire. His parents, Jonathan Firth and Martha Laycock, were probably Catholics. He entered the Order at Louvain, where he made his profession on the 14th of November 1738. Ten years later he was appointed Professor of Philosophy, and in 1751 was Subprior at Brussels, which office he resigned at the end of the following year. In 1754 he paid a short visit to England, but did not take missionary faculties. In 1757 we find him at Dunkirk, where he filled the office of Prior. He came to England in 1771, with the title of Vicar-Provincial, and having successfully negotiated the purchase of a house at Tongres, transferred his residence to that town. He was probably Superior of the College when death overtook him on 17th August 1792.

38. Father Joseph Ferrers was born in 1725. "He was probably descended from a younger son of the Baddesley Clinton family; professed in 1745 and ordained in 1749, he was sent to London some years later, where he also died, on 29th August 1797, having been Vicar-Provincial since 1792." He preached the sermon at the memorial service for Louis XVI., in the chapel of the Neapolitan Ambassador, on 9th February 1793, and published it in London in French and English.[1]

[1] See Gillow, *loc. cit.*

39. Father Thomas Pickering came of a respectable family, residing near Ludlow, co. Salop. In early life he was engaged in business as a clock and watch maker, and was a good mechanic. This business he abandoned in order to embrace the religious life amongst the Discalced Carmelites in Italy. On his coming to the mission he was placed in the family of the Willoughbys of Aspley, co. Notts, and remained there fifty-three years, till his "happy and edifying death. He was a model of humility, and was much respected by all who knew him. The exact date of his death is unknown, but it occurred late in the century, as he attained the age of ninety or thereabouts."[1]

The following Fathers, although not ordained for the English Mission, were connected with it:—

1. Father Columbanus Coleman, from Galway. Ordained in France for the Irish Mission; he spent at least part of his missionary life in England, where he also died shortly before 1755.[2]

2. Father Nicholas Coleman, a brother of the preceding. In Father Simon's letter of 1755, allusion is made to a Father Nicholas of the Province of Tuscany, and the question is raised whether it would

[1] Communicated by Mr. Gillow. The religious name of Father Pickering is not on record, that of Father Ferrers appears to have been Columbanus.

Richard Gomeldon (Gillow, *loc. cit.*, vol. iii. p. 65), is stated to have been a Carmelite. If so, he must have left the novitiate before profession.

[2] "Carmel in Ireland," by Father Patrick of St. Joseph, O.D.C., p. 238.

be prudent to send him on the English Mission. Mention is also made of his brother, "whose ashes have lately been committed to the grave." He probably spent his religious life exclusively abroad. "Ordained at Malta, he devoted many years to the teaching of philosophy and theology, dying at length in the place where he had been raised to the priesthood."[1]

3. THOMAS WALKER, son of John and Tryphene Walker, Catholics. Born at Bingley, in Yorkshire, he entered the English College in Rome on 5th November 1734 for the study of logic. He left the College on 5th May of the following year without having taken the oath, and received the habit of the Order of Mount Carmel in the same month.[2] Nothing further is known of him.

We have now come to the last epoch in the history of our missioners. Almost at the eleventh hour the English Mission seemed to receive new vigour from the establishment of a seminary or novitiate on the Continent. The number of the missioners had considerably decreased by the death of the aged fathers, and there were not so many young priests as earlier in the century. In order to facilitate the reception of subjects, Father Richard, Vicar-Provincial, made a last effort to obtain a house abroad, and being supported by his Superiors, bought the former Jesuit College at Tongres from the Prince-Bishop of Liège, Francis Charles de Velbruck, for

[1] "Carmel in Ireland," p. 244.

[2] See Foley, "Records," vol. vi. p. 484, No. 1228.

seven thousand florins, and a yearly rent of sixty florins. This house had been established in 1642, was burnt down by the French in 1677, but soon afterwards rebuilt. In consequence of the suppression of the Society of Jesus, the community at Tongres, numbering only four members, was dissolved on 10th September 1773, and a committee was elected for the administration of the property. On August 1st the Definitory General of the Carmelites agreed to the purchase, which before the end of the year passed through numberless formalities, so that early in the following year the house could be opened as "a hospice where the old missioners may utilise the remainder of their strength for the training of young Religious." Father Richard at once transferred his residence thither, one of his first steps being the erection of some new buildings. Unfortunately we have no information relative to this College, the names and numbers of its inhabitants, the life they led, and the studies they pursued; all the papers, together with the funds, having been swept away by the Revolution. The Hon. Edward Petre[1] says: "An order came from Rome for the English Carmelites, who were dispersed in France, Brabant, and Germany, to repair to Tongres. There were only five Carmelite friars on the mission in England. Four were sent from France to supply the places of the aged priests. The young men who came to the convent were sent to Wuerzburg, Heidelberg, Liège,

[1] "Notices of the English Colleges and Convents established on the Continent," by the late Hon. Edward Petre, ed. by Husenbeth, p. 35.

and Antwerp." This statement seems hardly accurate, seeing that Tongres served rather as a missionary College than as a novitiate, and that several of its members were sent to Liège for ordination, as will be seen from the following extract from the Episcopal registers:[1]—

Fr. Thomas of Jesus (40); ordained Subdeacon, 29th May 1779; Priest, 8th September 1779.

Fr. Angelus of St. Mary Magdalen (41); ordained Subdeacon on 21st September; Deacon on 21st December 1782; Priest, 14th June 1783.

Fr. Richard of St. William (42); ordained Priest, 19th February 1785.

Fr. Augustine of St. George (43); ordained Subdeacon on 24th September 1785; Deacon, 3rd September 1786; Priest, 20th September 1789.

Fr. Joseph of St. Edward (44); ordained Subdeacon, 22nd September 1787; Deacon, 20th September 1788; Priest, 20th September 1789.

In the absence of further particulars, it is hardly possible to identify these Religious. It appears, however, probable that—

40. Father Thomas of Jesus was Thomas Rayne, born about 1756, who died on the 1st of April 1810, after having spent twenty-four years as chaplain to the Portuguese Ambassador in London. He held for some time the office of Vicar-Provincial.

44. Father Joseph of St. Edward was most likely Father Joseph Lowe, who died on All Saints' day 1816, aged forty-nine years.

[1] Kindly communicated by Canon Daris of Liège.

45. Father Edward Palmer, a former member of the community of Tongres, died at Richmond, in Surrey, on 24th March 1727, aged forty-six years.

46. Father Edward Williams, once a student of the College of Tongres, was the son of Edward Williams and his wife Sarah Bird, and was born in London on the Feast of St. John the Baptist, 1766. At the age of nine he entered the English College in Rome, and began his studies by learning the useful arts of reading and writing, the College being at that time no longer what it had been in the previous centuries, the Home of Learning as well as of Sanctity. Williams left in September 1783, owing to ill health, and returned home. Subsequently he joined the Carmelite Order, and was ordained priest at Tongres. When the community had been dispersed he returned to England, and went to live with his grandparents at Aspley, co. Notts, after whose death he left the Order and went to America.

The house at Tongres hardly had time to gain a proper footing, for the French Revolution broke out soon after it had been opened, and long before it could have effected a lasting result. When the English Franciscans (Recollects)[1] were driven from their house at Douay, the Superior of the Carmelites at Tongres gave them hospitality for nearly a year, but in July 1794 the Carmelites as well as the Franciscans had to fly before the French army.

[1] "The Franciscans in England," by Rev. Father Thaddeus, p. 125.

The decline of the Carmelite Mission is best shown by the following figures: In 1773 there were two fathers in London; in 1803 Bishop Milner says in his report that he has two Carmelite priests in the Midland district. In 1818 there is but one in the Midland, and none at all in the London district.

47. Father John Clarkson, born in 1773, was for seventeen years chaplain at Ingatestone Hall, in Essex, and was buried there on 13th February 1823, the following inscription being placed on his tombstone:—

"In this small spot, last home for man designed,
John Clarkson rests, the honest, good and kind.
His manly mind nor had ambition fir'd,
Nor pride debased, nor envious thought inspired.
His constant aim to be to all a friend,
With pastoral care his little flock to tend,
With indigence to share his slender store,
And wants he could not remedy, deplore.
To still contention when he saw it rise,
To check the tongues of slander in disguise,
Make friendship reign, cause enmity to cease,
And pour in every heart the balm of peace.
Such was the man himself, such his employ,
Such his life's pleasure, such in death his joy.
Calm and content his path through life he trod,
Calm and resigned he breathed his soul to God.
Dear reader, pause, and if thou hast a tear
To shed o'er worth departed, shed it here."

48. The last member of the English Carmelite Mission was Father Francis Willoughby Brewster.

A faithful friend of his, the late Mr. George Young, of Kingerby, near Market Rasen, has preserved some memoirs from which we gather the following:—

Francis was born in 1770 at Market Rasen, and having received his first education at his native place, was sent to the institute of Dr. Shuttleworth. He entered the Carmelite Order, and was pursuing his studies of Divinity at Tongres when this monastery fell into the hands of the Revolutionists. Seeking a refuge at Heidelberg and Cologne, he was enabled to continue his studies for a year and a half, until the French troops, sweeping over Rhenish Prussia and the Low Countries, forced the English students to return to England. They embarked for Harwich, but a severe gale drove the vessel out of her course on to the coast of Norway. Once, during the storm, the ship fell on her beam-end, causing the captain, who was then in the cabin, to exclaim: "It is all over." But with the next wave the ship righted herself. They reached Akersond, where they rested while the vessel underwent some repairs, and finally put to sea again and arrived safely at Harwich. In 1796 Father Brewster undertook the mission at Market Rasen, formerly in the hands of the Jesuits. He continued unassisted at this post until 1847. The chapel and presbytery, built in 1782, are said to have been the first Catholic buildings in Lincolnshire. They were, however, pulled down in 1823, and rebuilt on a more commodious site in the western portion of the town. It was a plain, unpretentious building, capable of holding four

hundred worshippers, and was dedicated to the Holy Cross. Since Father Brewster's death, the chapel has been enlarged and embellished. In order to increase his very inadequate income, Father Brewster kept from forty to fifty bee-hives, and cultivated some small fields belonging to the mission, situated at a distance of a mile and a half from the town. Like a true Religious, he kept early hours, being regularly at work by five o'clock in the fields or at the hives; returning to the presbytery, he prepared for Mass, which he celebrated punctually at half-past eight. The poverty of the mission was partly due to the loss of the missionary funds, which, together with the library and archives, had been in the hands of Father Clarkson, at whose death they became the property of his relatives, a will in favour of Father Brewster having been set aside. The latter went twice to London to try to secure the property of the English Mission, but in vain. It had been invested in the shipping trade, and on a certain vessel being totally wrecked, the funds of the Carmelite Mission were lost for ever.

This happened at the time when preparations were being made for the Catholic Emancipation Act. A Parliamentary paper being circulated among the heads of the Religious Orders to ascertain the number of Religious, Father Brewster filled it up in a laconic style: "No Superior, no Inferior, being the last man." It was, alas! only too true.

In November 1848 Father Francis was seized by serious illness, which gradually wasted his strength. He calmly passed away on the 11th of January

1849. The remains were interred in the Sanctuary of his church at Market Rasen, the tomb bearing the following inscription :—

FRANCISCO WILLOUGHBY BREWSTER
POSTREMO IN ANGLIA
CARMELITICÆ FAMILÆ ALUMNO
HANC URBEM MARKET RASEN
PROVINC. LINCOLN.
QUAM PATRIAM NACTUS ERAT
SACERDOTALIS MINISTERII OFFICIIS
QUINQUAGINTA ET UNUM ANNOS
STUDIOSISSIME EXCOLUIT.
VIXIT ANNOS LXXVIII. M. I. OBIT III. ID.
JAN. A MDCCCXLIX.
AVE ET VALE IN PACE.

The *Tablet* of 27th January 1849, and the *Rambler* of the month of February informed their readers of the death of the last Carmelite missioner. A pious and zealous priest, well read and fond of study, especially Divinity, he spent his life in the most unassuming way, cultivating the Vineyard of the Lord entrusted to his care, and the fields belonging to his poor mission.

By his death the old English Carmelite Mission came to its natural end. The circumstances under which it had been founded at the beginning of the seventeenth century had ceased to exist; English Catholics were no longer pursued through the country, nor were Catholic priests obliged to fulfil their duties at the peril of their lives, or constrained to say Mass in cellars and barns, and to

perform funeral ceremonies with closed doors, putting a handful of consecrated earth into the coffin with the dead. The gradual repeal of the Penal Laws enabled them to come forward from their hiding-places. Convents and monasteries were established in various parts of the country, nay, the very houses founded for English men and women in Flanders and France, were transferred to England, the religious liberty of this country, dearly bought as it was by the blood of so many martyrs, affording them an asylum when the Revolutionists, in the name of Liberty and Fraternity, violated the sacred duty of hospitality. Thus it was that among other convents the English Carmelite nuns of Antwerp, Lierre, and Hooghstraet found a home in England. The history of these convents is unfortunately quite as fragmentary as that of our missioners, but, like the latter, it tells of a number of saintly Religious whose work will persevere for ever, and whose life and death will afford encouragement and give an example to their successors to the end of time.

For thirteen years the Discalced Carmelite Friars were not represented in England, until, on the occasion of the Canonisation of the Japanese martyrs in June 1862, Cardinal Wiseman, ever solicitous for the welfare of his diocese, obtained from Pope Pius IX. an order authorising him to choose some Carmelite Fathers for a foundation in London. His choice fell upon Father Augustine Mary of the Blessed Sacrament. This Religious, whose secular name was Herman Cohen, was born at Hamburgh on the 10th of

November 1820, of Jewish parents. From his earliest childhood he showed a remarkable talent for music, which received its full development under the direction of Liszt. Unfortunately the young artist allowed himself to be carried away by his frivolous though brilliant surroundings, until, in the month of May 1847, Divine Grace called him back from a path of error. He was conducting the music in the church of Ste. Valérie in Paris, when at the moment of Benediction he felt a strange sensation of intense love of God, and deep contrition for his sins. Not knowing from whence this unwonted emotion came, Herman consulted some Catholic friends, who introduced him to a distinguished ecclesiastic, with the result that in a short time he received Holy Baptism. Desirous of consecrating his life henceforward to the service of God, he entered the Carmelite novitiate at Broussey, not far from Bordeaux, and in due time made his profession and received Sacred Orders. He now devoted his time chiefly to the Apostolic work of preaching. His great knowledge of the world, and his ardent zeal for the salvation of souls, even more than the weight of his name and the fame of his remarkable conversion, drew large audiences to his sermons. He was also instrumental in the foundation of several monasteries, especially those at Lyons, Bagnères de Bigorre and Tarasteix.

Such was the priest whom Cardinal Wiseman singled out for the foundation of a Carmelite monastery in London. When arriving in this city on the 6th of August 1862, he was by no means

a stranger; for the brilliant artiste of former days was not yet forgotten by lovers of music. The new foundation took place in a small house in Kensington Square, the front parlour of which, affording sitting room for about forty persons, served as a temporary chapel. Some fathers and lay-brothers having joined Father Herman, the small community resumed all the exercises of the monastic life. Such was the poverty of the monastery, that the community, unable to afford the cost of crockery-ware, took their frugal meals out of flower-pots.

The solemn opening of the chapel took place on the Feast of St. Theresa, 15th October 1862, in presence of Cardinal Wiseman and the two future Cardinals, Manning and Howard, of Father Faber and other distinguished Catholics.

As might have been expected, the house in Kensington Square soon proved insufficient, and after many difficulties a more commodious site was secured in Duke's Lane; but even there the chapel was a great deal too small for the numerous worshippers, and after a few years Father Herman proceeded to build a spacious church. Pugin having been chosen as the architect, the foundation-stone was laid by Cardinal Manning, who in the meantime had succeeded to Cardinal Wiseman. Exactly a year later, on the 16th of July 1866, the Feast of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, the solemn opening of the Carmelite church took place in presence of the Cardinal Archbishop, the Pontifical High-Mass being sung by Dr. Grant, Bishop of

Southwark, and the sermon preached by Father Gallwey, S.J. Soon after this event Father Herman left London, first to deliver a series of sermons in various towns of France, as well as in Rome, Berlin and Breslau, and then to retire to the "Desert" of Tarasteix, which he himself had founded. At the outbreak of the Franco-German war, Mgr. Mermillod, anxious for the welfare of the French prisoners in Germany, requested Father Herman to devote himself to their service. A German by nationality, though almost a Frenchman, owing to his long residence in France, he was welcomed by the German Government, and more so by the numerous prisoners, especially the sick and wounded. While thus exercising the Apostolic ministry he was seized by small-pox, and, after a few days of suffering, rendered his soul to God, on the 20th of January 1871. The altar of St. Joseph in the Carmelite church in London, erected in memory of the founder of the monastery, is adorned with two panels in mezzo-relievo: one represents Pope Pius IX. in the act of blessing Father Herman previous to his departure for London; the other shows the same religious in the lazaret of Spandau, ministering to the wants of the plague-stricken soldiers of France.

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CORRECTION

Page 5, line 2, *read* '1534' *instead of* '1537.'

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